THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

COMMITMENT TO SCHOOL AND INVOLVEMENT IN YOUTH CULTURES: AN EMPIRICAL STUDY

by

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Commitment to School and Involvement in Youth Cultures: An Empirical Study" submitted by Julian Tanner in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study, the basic data for which was provided by 733 junior and senior high school students within the Edmonton Public School System, was to explore the relationship between 'youth culture' and the secondary school. Recent research has indicated that those high school students who have a low commitment to school will tend to involve themselves in one of two central patterns of out-of-school youth contra culture, namely 'street culture' and 'pop media culture', and that differential involvement in these two out-of-school peer cultures is determined by both sex and social class background. The thesis that we were replicating, therefore, centred upon the following hypotheses:

(1) That involvement in 'youth cultures' is inversely related to commitment to school.

(2) That different categories of school rejectors will gravitate towards 'street culture' (approximated in our study by a scale of delinquency involvement) and 'pop media culture'.

(3) We also expected that the inverse relationship between school commitment and involvement in these central patterns of 'youth culture' would be stronger given a poor academic performance in school.

Our findings supported the basic contention that a low commitment to school is inversely associated with both delinquency and pop media culture. In terms of the association between commitment to school

and delinquency, the inverse relationship was found to be stronger for boys than girls. This inverse relationship was also found to be stronger among unskilled and skilled working-class respondents than among middle-class respondents. Furthermore, the joint effects of sex and social class are such that the inverse relationship between commitment to school and delinquency is strongest for boys from unskilled working-class backgrounds and weakest for middle-class girls.

In terms of the inverse relationship between a general commitment to school and involvement in the pop media, we found that, more or less independently of social class background, this association was stronger for boys than for girls. In fact, on the basis of the indicators employed in this study, school rejection does not appear to be significantly associated with involvement in the pop media among girls.

Furthermore, we found only marginal support for the thesis that 'street culture' and 'pop culture' represent alternative and mutually exclusive forms of out-of-school 'youth culture' for different categories of school rejectors.

In terms of our third hypothesis, we found the inverse relationship between commitment to school and delinquency to be stronger given a poor academic performance. However, we were not able to draw similar conclusions with regard to the inverse association between school commitment and pop media involvement because the effects of academic performance on this relationship were far from clear.

In the final part of the thesis, we attempt to account for the differences between our results and those of the earlier British study.

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CHAPTER I

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

This study will investigate the phenomena known as 'youth culture'. As will soon be made apparent, it will necessarily entail a definition sharply in contrast with assumptions and meanings frequently accorded the term.

The variety of 'youth culture' discussed in the following pages is linked to a thorough rejection of school, and a concomitant orientation toward out-of-school leisure patterns. Recent research has indicated that within the secondary school system a youth contra-culture may have emerged, created and sustained by young people's negative feelings towards school. Further, it appears that different categories of school rejectors will gravitate towards different patterns of out-of-school 'youth culture'. The thesis is therefore concerned with the relationship between 'youth culture' and the school.

Theoretical Issues

The notion that a 'youth culture' existed, embracing values in conflict with the adult world, was first suggested by Talcott Parsons in 1942. Generated on the one hand by an inability to take on adult roles, and on the other by the reluctance of adolescents to conform to adult expectations

and discipline, a 'youth culture' emerged, characterized by 'irresponsibility :

> "Perhaps the best single point of reference for characterizing the Youth Culture lies in its contrast with the dominant pattern of the adult male role. By contrast, with the emphasis on responsibility in this role, the orientation of the Youth Culture is more or less specifically irresponsible" (Parsons: 1949: 92).

Involvement in 'youth culture' in Parson's terms, provides adolescents with the identity and status denied them by the adult world: 'irresponsibility' and 'having a good time' becomes appropriate behaviour for young people, finding emphasis in such expressive group activities as sports, 'pop music', dancing. Indeed both Matza (1961) and Berger (1963b) have argued that the distinctive thrust of 'youth culture' is provided less by age-status than by the leisure-oriented 'style' of teenage culture. In a similar vein, Bernard has identified 'teenage culture' as being "essentially the culture of a leisure class" (1961). In fact the distinctive role that leisure plays in the lives of certain groups of adolescents is fundamental to the notion of an out-of-school 'youth culture'. This theme will be returned to a little later on.

Probably the best known study arguing for the existence of a distinctive adolescent culture, sometimes at odds with the adult world, has been furnished by Coleman (1961). Focusing his attention upon the relationship between 'youth culture and the school, he attempts to show how involvement in the 'adolescent society' subverts the academic ideals of the school. The adolescent's primary allegiance is to a student social system that values athleticism more than scholasticism, and rewards popularity and good

looks more generously than it does good grades.

However, a number of important points need to be made with respect to Coleman's findings. First, the leisure-oriented values, activities, and sports which Coleman regards as being the essential components of the adolescent culture were largely school sponsored and took place within the geographical confines of the school. Second, the adolescent society is led and supported by individuals who display a relatively high degree of academic achievement. For while it is true that the 'leading crowd' - those who derived most status and reward from involvement in the adolescent culture - were not outstanding scholars, they were far from being academic failures. When the academic performance of the 'leading crowd' is compared with the performance of others within the same school, the 'leading crowd' do better than their contemporaries in all the ten high schools of the sample (see Coleman, page 82). This finding is reinforced by Schafer and Stehr (1968), who in a secondary analysis of Coleman's data, found that in six of the ten schools investigated, students classified as athletes scored considerably higher grade point averages than did the non-athletes. Without denying that the status of the 'leading crowd' was largely derived from involvement in non-academic activities (e.g. athletics), there is no evidence to suggest that involvement in these extra-curricular activities was either a cause or a consequence of low academic performance.

The important point that needs to be made here is that the concept of school commitment embraces items other than the purely academic. Coleman

overlooks the possibility that rather than reflecting involvement in an "adolescent world", participation in expressive extra-curricular activities might in fact be better understood as other aspects of the 'good student' role. Participation in non-academic pursuits tend to reinforce and 'lock-in' a student's involvement in the formal school system. Without necessarily being aware of what he has initially commited himself to, an adolescent finds himself bound to the formal school system via a network of possible diverse activities and relationships. A stake in conformity is thus created, making it increasingly difficult for an adolescent to extricate himself from the formal culture of the school. (Becker 1960, Polk and Halferty 1966).

Coleman's adolescent society is in no sense an adolescent controlled world; even less is it in conflict with the dominant assumptions of the adult world. Far from lacking commitment to school, the members of Coleman's leading crowd have in fact the greatest investment in school. Involvement in the adolescent society is inextricably linked with a positive commitment to school.

In short, Coleman's school-based adolescent culture complements the more specifically academic role of the school. Moreover, as other investigators (e.g. Hollingshead 1949, Gordon 1957, Smith 1962) have found, the in-school peer-culture was dominated by middle-class adolescents, primarily college-bound.

However, the species of 'youth culture' identified in more recent research is linked to a more thorough rejection of school, and a concomitant

orientation toward out-of-school leisure activities. Rather than complementing the academic culture of the school, this variety of 'youth culture' provides an alternative set of standards and meanings and is held in varying degrees by those adolescents who have little commitment or investment in what the school has to offer (Sugarman 1967; Polk and Pink 1971; Murdock and Phelps 1972,1973).

These two approaches to the study of 'youth culture' may not necessarily be alternatives. The differences between Coleman's findings and the later research might in fact be reconciled by suggesting that different phenomena are being investigated. Coleman attempts to obtain indices of participation in the adolescent sub-culture from questions relating to the school situation. Therefore, as both Sugarman and Lacey (1970) have suggested, Coleman's findings may have been determined by the nature of the questions he asked. Lacey's conclusion is that "many of Coleman's indices confuse social status in the school (pupil role) with social status in the adolescent sub-culture (adolescent role) (Lacey 1970: 205).

In an attempt to remove further ambiguities, I am suggesting that Coleman is measuring involvement in an 'in-school' youth sub-culture, while the more recent research has been concerned with involvement in an out-of-school youth contra-culture.

The term sub-culture refers to the body of norms and values that set a group apart from a total society, while at the same time recognizing that other norms and values are shared with the total society. A youth sub-culture, therefore refers to the cluster of values, norms and

symbols etc., largely age-specific, which tend to set adolescents apart from the the adult world. The term sub-culture also implies that there are other norms and values etc. which adolescents share with the adult world.

The term contra-culture refers to the more substantive differences between a group and the total society of which it is a part. In Yinger's terms, it refers to "the creation of a series of inverse or counter-values opposed to those of the surrounding society in the face of serious frustration or conflict" (Yinger 1960: 699). Within the context of my argument, a youth contra-culture is generated by a reaction or opposition to the middle-class world of the school.

The sub-cultural explanation is more appropriately concerned with those age-specific factors that work to distinguish adolescents from adult society. The contra-cultural perspective, on the other hand, is more specifically concerned with the emergence of a set of norms and values opposed to the formal school system and the adult world it represents: in this perspective the conflictual element is held to be fundamental.

Although 'delinquescent' values and activities are an important component of this anti-school 'youth culture', it is important to note that a collective rejection of school culture does not necessarily result in delinquency, as Hargreaves (1967: 162) points out. In fact, the model of 'youth culture' employed in this study is derived primarily from the work of Downes (1966): involvement in 'youth culture' represents a disengagement from unattainable or undesirable success goals

at school or work and a re-focusing of attention upon expressive leisure activities.

The Substance of 'Youth Culture': Background and Context

Those adolescents with a low commitment or investment in the formal school culture have developed a counter-system of leisure values. As such, involvement in 'youth culture' provides a solution to the problems of a low commitment to school. 'Youth culture' may thus be defined as "the culture of the non-mobile working-class, the downwardly mobile, and of those who cherish hopes of mobility along channels where criteria of the school do not apply" (Sugarman 1967: 150).

Substantively, this form of 'youth culture' has frequently been treated as a combination of delinquent-type activities and the range of activities associated with pop music, such as buying and listening to records, dancing, buying clothes, and reading 'pop' magazines etc. However, throughout Britain and Western Europe, 'youth culture' has long been regarded as the preserve of working-class youth (Rosenmayr 1968), providing as it does a temporary escape from an economic system that provides little opportunity for the school failure.

The emergence of the notion of a youth contra-culture in the early 1960's coincided with two important demographic and economic factors. On the one hand, the babies of the post-war 'boom' had reached adolescence, and on the other, this new generation of adolescents - particularly those who had left school at the earliest possible opportunity and entered the labour

market - were important beneficiaries of post-war economic prosperity, which allowed an unprecedented degree of teenage spending on consumer products and services.

However, the emergence of a burgeoning adolescent market, and the concomitant commercial possibilities that it opens up for the leisure and entertainment industries, does not mean, as Downes and Allen (1974) suggest it does, that 'youth culture' has been produced for, rather than by, adolescents. There is no doubt that a vast 'teenage industry', geared to producing the 'material artifacts'of 'youth culture' - the 'pop' records, the cheap mass-produced fashions etc. is economically sustained by the adolescent market. However, an approach which sees 'youth culture' as a product of business interests overlooks the degree to which young people are capable of shaping the content of a commercially-based leisure-culture (for evidence in support of this contention, see Gillet 1970). This point, I believe, to be particularly true with regard to adolescents and pop-music, where generalizations concerning the impact of the pop-media need to carefully qualified.

Very briefly, this is the background and context into which this study of 'youth culture' should be placed. We need now to look more specifically at the empirical research which has centred upon the relationship between 'youth culture' and the school.

The Recent Literature

The central argument of recent research is that adolescents within the secondary school system are caught between the conflicting demands of two mutually exclusive roles, an 'official' pupil role and a teenage

role. Sugarman, for example, argues that the selection of a particular role and the demands of its life-style is related to, and is a function of, adolescent adjustment to school. Adoption of the pupil role involves the acceptance of formal school values and norms; adoption of the teenage role involves roughly an inversion of the pupil role. If the pupil role can be typified by delayed gratification, cognitive skill, individual achievement, deference to authority, then the teenage role may be seen as asserting the values of instant gratification, physical and emotional expression, and group solidarity. As such, involvement in 'youth culture' is inversely related to involvement in the 'official' school culture. Hence:

> "we may picture the teenager as being placed between the rival appeals of two cultures or sets of assumptions and standards; the youth culture, and the "official" middle-class, adult culture represented by the schools and, for some, by their parents too" (Sugarman 1967: 133)

Briefly, Sugarman, and more recently Polk and Pink suggest a dichotomous relationship - involvement in 'youth culture' is inversely associated with involvement in the 'official' school culture. Murdock and Phelps, although agreeing with the central thrust of this argument, suggest that this conception over-simplifies the possible relationship between commitment to school (the pupil role) and involvement in out-of-school 'youth culture' activities. Other literature, although not specifically dealing with 'youth culture', will be introduced and discussed insofar as it has a bearing on the topic in hand.

Sugarman surveyed 540 fourth-year boys (approx. Canadian equivalent: grade 10) in four London (England) secondary schools, one grammar, two

secondary modern, and one comprehensive. He found that high teenage commitment, as measured by such criteria as smoking, going out with girls, listenting to 'pop' music, wearing teenage fashions, dancing, etc. was associated with unfavourable attitudes to school, to poor conduct according to teachers' ratings, and to 'under'-achievement relative to I.Q. as measured at the age of eleven.

In an attempt to come to terms with the problem of causal priority - that is, are boys commited to the teenage role because they are poor achievers, or are they poor achievers because of their commitment to the teenage role - Sugarman purports to solve the problem by claiming that

> "in this study, teenage commitemnt, achievement and conduct were all found to be related to a common and prior factor, namely the intellectual quality of the home background
> . . . . . .
> the dominant pattern is for differences in the intellectual quality of the home background to lead to difference in the degree of commitment to teenage roles. Both of these factors then operate to affect the level of achievement (relative to I.Q.) and conformity to school norms. Thus a high quality home tends to go with low teenage commitment, being an over-achiever, and having a good conduct rating" (Sugarman 1967: 158)

Unfortunately, this is a conclusion that his data cannot support because of his inadequate analysis of the relationship among these variables. For example, 'teenage commitment' has not been controlled for. Consequently, we do not know the nature of the influence that 'teenage commitment' has on the relationship between home background and achievement and conduct etc. Therefore Sugarman is in no real position to contend that the intellectual quality of the home background together with teenage commit-

ment operate to provide the dominant pattern of relationships.

Furthermore, from the design of the study we have no way of knowing whether 'teenage commitment' precedes or follows such other in-school variables as level of achievement and adherence to school rules. The nature of the study - a survey of fourth year boys which makes neither comparisons over time nor with younger boys of the same schools - precludes us from ever really knowing the correct temporal sequence.

Much the same criticisms can be made of Polk and Pink's American replication. Data for their study were drawn from 284 male sophomores enrolled in the public schools of a medium-sized county in the Pacific North-West of the United States. Their conclusions are comparable to Sugarman's: involvement in 'youth culture' (again measured by a composite indicator of teenage commitment which included smoking, dating, and 'cruising') is inversely correlated with involvement in the official school culture, though they did find that 'home background' was less fundamental than school failure in the generation of differential involvement in 'youth culture'.

As with Sugarman, they fail to come to terms with the problems of temporal ordering. Again, we do not know whether 'teenage commitment' precedes or follows under-achievement, poor conduct in school, etc. Although they refer to the genesis of this species of 'youth culture' as a "reaction to failure within the school setting" there is nothing in their data that allows them to make this conclusion.

Murdock and Phelps surveyed 1071 pupils (boys and girls) in the first and third years in ten different types of secondary schools in England

(Canadian equivalent: grades 7 and 9). 'Commitment to school' was measured largely in terms of an attitude scale: pupil's attitudes to school were marked by a 7 item, 5 point Likert scale, from which numerical scores of pupil's general commitment were obtained. There was also an item inviting pupils to answer a question concerning the age at which they wanted to leave school, as well as items designed to measure the extent to which they participated in school clubs, societies, and sports teams.

They found that in both the first and third years, middle-class pupils had a higher mean commitment score than working-class pupils. However, though the point-score separating the first year social class groupings was not large enough to be significant, among third year pupils the gap had widened sufficiently to achieve statistical significance. Thus the gap between the social class groupings increased as pupils moved through their school careers.

The same basic pattern of class differences is repeated when the percentage of first and third year pupils wanting to stay at school after sixteen is examined. Again there are class differences which become more important over the first three years in school.

A second finding is that the level of commitment of third year pupils correlates with their position in the academic hierarchy. 'Streaming' is an almost universal practice in English schools. Pupils are allocated to teaching groupings on the basis of a combination of ability and behaviour ratings. In those schools which operated a streaming system, the level of commitment in the top stream was in all cases significantly higher

than that of the middle and bottom stream. However, in those schools which did not operate a system of streaming, - that is, they worked with 'mixed ability' groupings - there were no significant differences between the levels of commitment of the various streams.

From the findings of this study, we know that 'commitment to school' varies by social class. We also know that school commitment is likely to be influenced by the nature of the internal organization of the school. Given that working-class children, with their initially weaker attachment to school than their middle-class counterparts, are more likely to be over-represented among the lower streams, we can expect the lowest measures of school commitment to emanate from working-class pupils placed in the lowest streams of secondary modern schools.

Murdock and Phelps conclude that there are two cultures operating within secondary schools, an 'official' pro-school culture, and an anti-school culture. This conclusion is consistent with the findings of other studies which all suggest that organizational factors existant within the school themselves serve to sharpen the cleavage lines between anti-school and pro-school students. The practice of 'streaming' or 'tracking' students conditions sub-cultural identification:

> "The organization of the school and its influence on sub-cultural development unintentionally fosters delinquent values . . . For low-stream boys . . . school simultaneously exposes them to these (middle-class) values and deprives them of status in these terms. It is at this point they may begin to reject the values because they cannot succeed in them. More than this the school provides a mechanism through the streaming system whereby their failure is effected and institutionalized, and also provides a situation in which they congregate together in low streams". (Hargreaves 1967: 173-174)

Hargreaves distinguishes an 'academic' from a 'delinquescent' subculture in an English secondary modern school. Low stream, 4th year boys rejected an academic pupil role, accepted by their higher stream colleagues and created a 'delinquescent' peer-culture of their own. Further, he noted a differential involvement in out-of-school leisure activities. Boys in the lower streams were more likely than upper-stream colleagues to spend more time out of the home during the evenings, more likely to belong to unorganized clubs (e.g. the billiard hall), and less likely to attend clubs specifically designed and organized by the adults for young people. Moreover, cinema attendance was higher for boys in the lower stream who were also more likely to prefer those 'pop' artists disapproved of by teachers and parents. Schafer, Olexa and Polk (1972) in an American study reached similar conclusions: when comparing 'college prep' students with 'non-college prep' students they found that the latter achieve less, participate less in extra-curricular activities, have a greater propensity to drop-out, misbehave more, and are more inclined toward delinquency.

Unfortunately, the Hargreaves study does not allow us to suggest whether involvement in a near delinquent 'youth culture' precedes or follows allocation to a low stream. Schafer, Olexa and Polk do suggest that the differences between the 'tracked' and 'non-tracked' students are attributable to the tracking system. They found that when father's occupation, I.Q. and grade point average for the last semester of junior high school were controlled for, there was still "a very sizeable difference in G.P.A." between college prep and non-college prep students. They conclude

> "that assignment to the non-college prep track has a rather strong negative influence on grades. While family background, ability and past performance clearly affect achievement, these data indicate it is too simplistic to attribute track differences in G.P.A. entirely to these factors. In fact, we found the independent effect of track position on G.P.A. to be greater than the independent effect of father's occupation, I.Q, or previous G.P.A. And, while there was a moderate difference in ninth-grade G.P.A. between those assigned to the college prep and non-college prep tracks, this difference had greatly increased by the senior year. This widening gap resulted from the fact that a higher percentage of college prep-students improved in G.P.A. between sophomore and senior years, while a higher percentage of the non-college bound declined" (1972:40)

Thus in their study, 'track' position becomes an important independent variable, affecting extra-curricular activities, misbehaviour, and delinquency.

From the studies of Murdock and Phelps, Hargreaves and Schafer, Olexa and Polk, it is possible to speculate that 'school commitment' is conditioned to some degree by stream allocation, and that allocation to a low stream will lead to a greater involvement in out-of-school 'youth culture' activities.

One study has been undertaken which explicitly provides an account of the sequence relating home background, school commitment, and involvement in 'youth culture'. Colin Lacey's longitudinal study of boys in an English grammar school traces the process wherby boys are recruited to either a pro-school or anti-school sub-culture. He explains sub-cultural polarization in terms of academic disappointment in the grammar school of boys who have long been the top pupils in their primary school. On entry to the grammar school these boys have a high investment in the

'good pupil' role . However, the highly competitive arena of grammar school (where all the boys have been high achievers in their primary schools) leads to a decline in relative performance for some pupils. These boys are no longer regarded as good pupils and the flow of short-term rewards (e.g. praise from teachers) begins to dry up. At the end of the first year their relatively poor performance is officially acknowledged by placement in the lower streams of the academic hierarchy. During the second year, academic differentiation is transformed into sub-cultural polarization: an 'official' pro-school culture is opposed by a peer -oriented culture of anti-school pupils. Lacey concludes that involvement in an anti-school sub-culture is a response to relative academic failure. Furthermore, he found that the 'failures' came from 'unsatisfactory' home backgrounds. The transfer to grammar school results for many of them in a "violation of their expectations as "best pupils". It is when this violation of expectations coincides with "unsatisfactory" home backgrounds that the worst cases of emotional disturbances occur" (Lacey, 1970: 61). This lends to further academic failure which in turn leads to allocation to a low stream at the beginning of the second year in the school. The true anti-school group starts to emerge in the 2nd year developing further in the third and fourth years.

Though not specifically concerned with the phenomena of 'youth culture', Lacey does note that involvement in adolescent dominated coffee bars, snooker clubs, dance halls, etc. is more markedly associated with anti-school pupils than with pro-school pupils. He suggests that adol-

escent culture . . . "represents a sphere of activity outside the school and is free of school domination. Those that are least successful within the school are most attracted to it" (Lacey 1970: 72: emphasis added).

Murdock and Phelps, although accepting the basic dichotomy of pro and anti-school peer cultures, argue that there are, in fact, two central patterns of out-of-school leisure use by which anti-school students may articulate their disengagement from school. These two cultural constellations they label 'street culture' and 'pop media culture', and although there are over-laps between the two, they represent separate patterns of roles, activities and symbols and tend to attract different categories of school disaffiliates.

Strongly reminiscent of the lower-class culture identified by Walter B. Miller (1958), 'street culture' emphasises male peer-group activities, such as street soccer, undertaken within the confines of the urban working-class community. Many of the core concerns of this'corner-boy culture' - 'toughness,' excitement and 'trouble' - are youthful adaptions of a traditional pattern of working-class values.

'Pop' music, particular pop-records, is the basis of pop-media culture, which Murdock and Phelps define as the activities, values, and roles . . . "sponsored by those sectors of the mass media which are produced primarily for adolescent consumption". (1972: 479). Although music is the main pop-medium, the style and themes are recurring, and 'spill-over' into other facets of 'pop-culture', such as fashions, magazines, television and movies. Even though working-class boys had more money to spend than their

middle-class counterparts, they tended not to spend it on pop-media related activities and items. In the words of the researchers, these English 'corner-boys' are still "very much 'locals' rooted in the culture of the neighbourhood streets rather than 'cosmopolitans' looking towards a nationally disseminated 'pop media culture'" (p. 481).

Murdock and Phelps hypothesis is as follows: working-class students, particularly males, with a low commitment to school will orientate themselves towards 'street culture'; middle-class students, particularly girls, not having access to a situationally based 'street culture' will tend to gravitate towards 'pop media culture' for activities and symbols counterposed to the world of school. Thus for school-rejecting working-class students 'street culture' is the important source of oppositional activities etc , whereas 'pop media culture' fulfills that same function for middle-class school rejectors.

Conclusion

The review of the literature suggests an inverse relationship between 'commitment to school' and involvement in 'youth culture' - irrespective of which items or categories are used to constitute that term.

The recent research of Murdock and Phelps' suggests that there are in fact two central sets of leisure values which constitute the generic term 'youth culture'; hence their deliniation of a 'street culture' from a 'pop media culture'. Their argument is that the older research, (e.g. Sugarman, Polk and Pink) has tended to draw on extractions from both 'street culture' and 'pop media culture' to provide definitions of 'youth culture'. By subsuming categories from both main variants an artificially homogeneous 'youth culture' is produced.

In concluding this section, the evidence indicates that adolescents with a low commitemnt to school culture will gravitate toward one of two sets of counter leisure values, a 'street culture' or a'pop media culture'. Furthermore, pop music seems to have particular salience for anti-school adolescents denied access (because of class background or sex) to the values, symbols, roles, etc. of a masculine-dominated, class-based 'street culture'.

Statement of Hypotheses

Our basic hypotheses is that involvement in 'youth culture' is inversely related to commitment to school. However, given the Murdock and Phelps' argument that there are in fact two discrete cultural milieux which provide the context for out-of-school 'youth culture', our second major hypotheses is that different categories of school rejectors will gravitate towards 'street culture' and 'pop media culture'. Firstly, we are expecting that boys will be more likely than girls to be involved in the male peer group activities associated with 'street culture', while girls will be more likely than boys to orientate themselves towards various aspects of the pop media. Secondly, we are expecting that working-class adolescents will tend to be more involved in street culture than middle-class adolescents, who will tend to be more involved than working-class adolescents with the pop media. Thirdly, and crucially, we are expecting that sex and social class will interact with each other to produce a situation whereby working-class

males will tend to be heavily involved in a largely sex specific 'street culture' centred upon the working-class community, and relatively uninvolved in a 'pop media culture'. On the other hand, we are expecting that middle-class girls, largely debarred from involvement in 'street culture' because of sex and class background, will be the most involved of all the groups of school rejectors with the 'pop media'.

Our third hypothesis is that the association between low commitment and our two central patterns of 'youth culture' will be stronger given poor academic achievement.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this chapter is, firstly, to describe the various instruments used to operationalize the central concepts employed in this study, and to explain the underlying rationale for their inclusion. Secondly, it will describe the source and composition of the sample on which this study is based. Thirdly, it will describe how the data were collected.

Operational Measures

General Commitment to School

The basic independent variable employed in the study - general commitment to school - is based on a Likert-type attitude scale, made up of six items.

The function of this 'commitment to school' scale is to measure a student's general orientation towards school. In reviewing previous research, Murdock and Phelps' note that adolescents overall orientation toward school encompasses a number of different dimensions (e.g. attitude to discipline, education and life-goals, interest in curriculum, identification with school, etc.), which are not necessarily interrelated, They, therefore, attempted to find a general factor which would reflect the central motifs of 'school commitment'. Their argument is that 'liking' or 'interest' (of school) are at the corner-

stone of an adolescent's overall orientation towards school.

Similarly, we attempted to design a scale that would focus upon 'liking' and 'interest'. Six items were finally chosen to make up the general commitment to school scale and were selected on the basis of their inter-correlations. (Table 1)

Table 1

Inter-Correlation Matrix of
General Commitment to School Items

Item		1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	On the whole I quite enjoy school	1.0	-.38	.31	.39	-.26	-.39
	Most of the lessons you do at school are a complete waste of time		1.0	.29	.37	.28	.51
3.	Most of the teachers in this school are really interested in the students			1.0	-.29	-.29	.24
4.	School is the same, day after day, week after week.				1.0	.31	.34
5.	Most of the time in school they treat you like a kid					1.0	.26
6.	I feel that the things I do at school waste my time more than the things I do outside of school						1.0

On the bases of their responses to these six statements - presented as a 5-point scale - respondents were categorized as being high, medium or low on school commitment. A fuller discussion of the frequency distribution of the composite 'commitment' scores, and the basis for the designation of cut-points is provided in appendix 1.

'Street Culture'

The original intention was to operationalize 'street culture' - the first of our out-of-school 'youth cultures' - by way of an attitude scale designed to measure the core values of such a culture i.e. 'toughness', group solidarity, masculinity, etc.

Two recent attempts - Hirschi (1969) in the United States and Dembo (1973) in Great Britain - have been made to construct such a scale. However, problems arose during the pre-testing of a number of similar items (for example, the meaning of questions or statements was not always obvious to respondents and sometimes failed to adequately discriminate between the sexes), which led us to conclude that such a measure would prove to be invalid for the purposes of this study.

It was therefore decided to abandon the attempt at constructing an attitude scale and instead approximate 'street culture' with a battery of self report items pertaining to illegal delinquent behaviour.

We concede that such an arrangement is not entirely satisfactory - after all, although some of the values and activities of a working-

class 'street culture' bear a fairly close approximation to delinquency, 'street culture' is not synonymous with a delinquent sub-culture. Our indicator, therefore, over-represents the extent to which delinquency is a central component of 'street culture'. Nevertheless, the five items selected to make up our delinquency scale were chosen because they best reflected the 'spirit', if not the letter, of 'street culture'. The inter-correlation matrix table, presented below, indicates that the selected items do tend to group together to produce a pattern suggestive of a masculine peer-culture, involving physical prowess, group solidarity etc., centering upon collective 'delinquencies'.

Table 2

Inter-Correlation Matrix
of Delinquency Items

Item	1	2	3	4	5
In the last year how often have you ...					
1. Got into a serious fight with a student at school	1.0	.22	.21	.38	.16
2. Taken something from a store without paying for it		1.0	.26	.28	.52
3. Damaged school property on purpose			1.0	.31	.28
4. Taken part in a fight where a bunch of your friends are against another bunch				1.0	.25
5. Taken something not belonging to you worth under $50.00					1.0

For each behaviour respondents were asked to indicate their degree of involvement on a 5-point scale. The responses were scored, and respondents divided into three equal groups - high, medium and low. Again, a discussion of both the frequency distribution of the delinquency scores and the basis for the designation of cut-points is provided in the appendix.

Previous research (see, for example, Wallerstein and Wyle, 1947; Gold, 1966; Gibson 1967) has uncovered a number of problems associated with self-report measures of delinquent behaviour. Firstly, whereas middle-class respondents are prone to exaggerate the seriousness of their offences, working-class respondents tend to conceal or underplay their delinquencies. Secondly, it is very difficult to control for response bias generated by, for example, different social class perceptions of the nature of the questions asked. For example, one question on the delinquency scale (above) asks "in the last year how often have you damaged school property on purpose?" Damaging school property on purpose embraces a wide range of behaviours, which would include writing your name on a school desk at one end of the continium and setting fire to the principal's office at the other. The weaknesses of 'self-report' as a methodology, therefore, centre upon the problem of concealment and exaggeration (and how this might vary by sex and/or social class), and the differential perception of the quality of the behaviour being investigated. Nevertheless, a review of the literature (Hood and Sparks 1970, chapters one and two) would suggest that as a methodological tool, 'self-report' is no more intrinsically flawed than any other method (e.g. official court statistics) of collecting data.

Pop Media Involvement

With regard to our measure of 'pop' media involvement, a number of items were pre-tested and included in the original questionnaire. They comprised self'report items designed to explore adolescents' exposure to 'pop', as well as an attitude dimension designed to tap adolescents' feelings about 'pop'.

Three separate indicators of involvement in 'pop' media culture were finally chosen. They were selected because they appeared to best answer a fundamental question: how do adolescents who participate heavily in the culture associated with pop music activate such an involvement? These three indicators were:

(1) Two self-reported behaviour items:

(a) Size of record collection (About how many rock records (singles and albums) do you have in your collection?)

(b) The number of recently bought records (How many rock records (singles and albums) have you bought in the last three months?)

(2) An 'attitude' question: self-concept as a rock fan (How interested are you in rock music?)

These three indicators were found to inter-correlate fairly well (Table 3), and we can therefore be reasonably certain that they are measuring the same phenomena. Two further items - attendance at rock concerts, and the number of songs remembered from the current "Top 40" play list were rejected as indicators precisely because there was a very low degree of inter-correlation between them and the other indicators.

Table 3

Inter-Correlation Matrix of
'Pop Media' Involvement Items

Item	1	2	3
1. Size of record collection (About how many rock records (singles and albums) do you have in your collection?)	1.0	.56	.36
2. Number of recently bought records (How many rock records (singles and albums) have you bought in the last three months?)		1.0	.30
3. Self-concept as a rock fan (How interested are you in rock music?)			1.0

On the bases of their responses to the two self-reported behaviour items, respondents were assigned a high,medium or low categorization. On the third item, which will be referred to as self-concept as a rock fan, respondents were categorized as having 'strong', 'medium', or 'weak' self-concepts as a rock fan. Once again, a fuller discussion of frequency distributions and cut-points will be found in the appendix.

Academic Performance

Three separate indicators of academic performance were employed. The first indicator - self-perceived school ability (in comparison with others) was derived from an item on the questionnaire which asked: "How do you compare in school ability with other students in your

school?" The second indicator was self-reported grades - respondents being asked: "What were your grades in school last year?" Thirdly, information on respondents actual grades was drawn from the records of the Edmonton Public School Board. Respondents were classified as falling into one of two fairly equal categories of academic performance - 'high' and 'low' - for each of the three indicators. A description of the range of academic performance ratings, and how respondents are distributed between the categories of 'high' and 'low' academic performance is provided in appendix one.

Social Class

Finally, 'social class' was operationalized by taking father's occupation as the primary indicator. While this is not entirely satisfactory (for example, it provides no real measure of the 'quality of the home background' - apparently the important explanatory variable in Sugarman's study), 'occupation' is a relatively useful shorthand categorization for the cluster of factors - income levels, lifestyles, world-views etc. - ideal-typically associated with different social classes.

Each respondent was asked to state what his or her father's job was, and provide a brief description of the nature of his work. On the bases of these replies, father's occupation was initially categorized as falling under one of the following headings:

- Professional
- Managerial
- Clerical
- Skilled craftsman
- Labour
- Service

These categories were further, and finally, sub-divided to correspond to the three basic social class groupings on which Canadian society is based:

Professional Managerial Clerical	Middle-class
Skilled craftsman	Skilled working-class
Labour Service	Unskilled working-class

Had our sample been larger, we would have made a further distinction between upper middle-class and lower middle-class. This, however, was not possible, because of the size of our sample, though we do not consider the absence of this further sub-division to seriously detract from the adequacy of our operationalization of 'social class'.

Source and Composition of the Sample

The sample for the study was composed of 733 students, drawn from five schools (three junior and two senior high schools) within the Edmonton Public School system. 56% (411) of the students were in junior

high school, and 44% (322) in senior high school. The distribution of our sample by school grade was as follows:

Percentage	(in numbers brackets)	Grade
25	(184)	8
31	(227)	9
6	(63)	10
17	(127)	11
18	(132)	12
Total 100%	(733)	

Of the total sample, 54% (391) were male and 46% (342) female.

Because social class background appears to be one of the fundamental variables in deterimining the relationship between commitment to school and patterns of involvement in 'youth culture', the schools themselves were purposely selected for investigation on the basis of the probable social class background of the students attending those school. Accordingly, two junior high school (McCauley and McDougal) and one senior high school (Victoria Composite) were selected as being representative of what might be termed 'inner city' schools. It seemed reasonable to assume that these schools would recruit the majority of their students from working-class areas. Similarly, Mackenzie Junior High School and Harry Ainlay Senior High School were selected to represent what might be termed sub-urban schools, which would be more likely to draw students from predominately middle-class areas.

From the information provided by respondents to the questionnaire, we were able to calculate the social class distribution of our sample.

Of the 618 respondents who submitted the appropriate information, 56% (346) were middle-class, 26% (160) were skilled working-class, and 18% (112) were unskilled working-class.

On the basis of previous research, we expected that the relationship between school commitment and 'youth culture' would be influenced by the internal academic organisation of the school. Therefore, it was decided that within each selected school, classes chosen for investigation should reflect the nature of the grouping system employed. However, in the Edmonton Public School System it is formal policy not to 'track' or 'stream' students in junior high school: students are taught in 'mixed ability' classes, where theoretically the entire ability range is represented. The nature of the grouping system was not therefore, a relevant factor in selecting classes for investigation in the three junior high schools.

In senior high school, however, students are allocated to a number of different academic programmes e.g. matriculation, business, general vocational, technical etc. Therefore, within both the senior high schools in our sample, we attempted to select classes representative of the range of academic programmes offered; 66% (201) of the students in our senior high school sample were in the matriculation programme, while the remaining 44% (121) were in one of the various non-matriculation programmes.

By and large, we are reasonably confident that our sampling procedures enabled us to produce a cross-section of Grade 8 and 9 students in junior high school and Grade 11 and 12 students in senior high school (plus 63 students in Grade 10), representative of sex and social class

backgrounds and academic abilities and programmes. All students within each class - chosen because they fell within the parameters outlined above - were sampled.

Finally, we should perhaps point out that schools within the Edmonton Separate School System were not used in the study because religious background was not one of the factors under investigation in the study with regard to the basic tenets of the thesis.

Method of Data Collection

The basic data for the study was provided from questionnaires completed by students in the five chosen schools in October 1974. The questionnaire was designed so as each student, irrespective of academic ability, would be able to complete it within one class period (approximately 35 minutes). The questionnaire was administered personally, either by the investigator or his assistant (Ms. Rhonda Cockerill). However, in one or two instances, this proved impossible or unfeasable. For example, one principal insisted that his staff administer the questionnaire. Even in this case, the principal researcher was able to oversee the entire operation by moving from classroom to classroom during the completion of the questionnaire. In short, we do not consider that any serious bias was introduced in those few instances where the research team was not immediately on hand to supervise the administrating of the questionnaires.

In addition to the questionnaires, information pertaining to the 'official' academic performance of a majority of respondents was ob-

tained from official school records held by the Edmonton Public School Board. To extract the relevant information from the school board records, we needed to have the names of the students in our sample. However, because of the sensitive nature of some of the questionnaire items, the decision to submit names was a voluntary one. Furthermore, we were not able to collect information on the academic performance of students from one school (McCauley) because records of students' performances for the previous year had not been submitted to the school board. Finally, if a student was new to a school - particularly if he or she had recently moved from another province to Alberta - the required information on academic performance would not be available on the school board records. Nevertheless, despite these problems, we were able to elicit information on the official school performance of 57% (419) of the students in our sample.

CHAPTER III

THE RESULTS

The next two chapters will present and discuss the findings of this study as they pertain to our hypotheses outlined in chapter one.

In this chapter, we well present our results as follows. The first section will be concerned with the relationship between a general commitment to school and delinquency, and how it varies by sex, social class and academic performance. The second section will examine the relationship between commitment to school and involvement in 'pop media culture' (as measured by our three separate indicators), and how it varies by sex, social class, and academic performance. Finally, we will look at the effect that income has on the relationship between school commitment and involvement in the 'pop media', as well as provide a short discussion of some of the implications of our findings.

Commitment to School and Involvement in Delinquency

Our hypothesis is that there will be an inverse relationship between a general commitment to school and delinquency. This relationship is examined in Table 4.

As expected, we find a modest, though clear, inverse relationship between a general commitment to school and involvement in delinquency. Those students who have the weakest general commitment to school have the greatest propensity for engaging in delinquent activities: 36%

of the students low on commitment have high delinquency scores, compared to only 17% of those with a high commitment.

Table 4

Delinquency by a General Commitment to School

		GENERAL COMMITMENT TO SCHOOL		
		LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
	LOW	41 (81)	57 (30)	57 (157)
	MEDIUM	23 (45)	24 (54)	26 (73)
DELINQUENCY	HIGH	36 (70)	20 (46)	17 (46)
	TOTAL	(176)	(130)	(126)
	GAMMA = - 0.21		P = <.01	

Of course, a hypothesis central to our argument is that sex and social class affect the degree of involvement in the two central patterns of 'youth cultural' activities. Consequently, in terms of the delinquent adaption, we would expect the inverse relationship between commitment and delinquency to be stronger for boys than girls, and for both groups of working-class adolescents than for middle-class adolescents. More precisely, our expectation is that the strongest relationship between commitment and delinquency will be among unskilled working-class boys, and the weakest among middle-class girls. Therefore, sex and social class were introduced as control variables to explore the possible effect that they might have on the basic inverse relationship between commitment and delinquency.

The introduction of sex as a control variable radically altered this relationship, as Table 5 indicates.

Table 5

Delinquency by a General Commitment to School by Sex

MALE

		GENERAL COMMITMENT TO SCHOOL		
		LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
	LOW	31 (35)	49 (59)	55 (79)
	MEDIUM	24 (27)	29 (35)	27 (38)
DELINQUENCY	HIGH	45 (50)	22 (27)	18 (20)
	TOTAL	(112)	(121)	(137)
	GAMMA = - 0.31		P = < .01	

FEMALE

		LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
	LOW	55 (46)	65 (71)	59 (78)
	MEDIUM	21 (18)	17 (19)	26 (35)
	HIGH	24 (29)	19 (25)	15 (25)
	TOTAL	(93)	(115)	(138)
	GAMMA = - 0.05		P = N/S	

For the girls, there is only a slight, and statistically insignificant relationship between commitment and delinquency. That is to say, a girl's commitment to school has very little relationship to her level of involvement in delinquency. However, among the boys, the

original relationship between commitment and delinquency is strengthened: the percentage difference between those with a low and high commitment to school in the low delinquency row is 24%, compared with 16% in the original table. Likewise, the percentage difference between those with high and low school commitments in the high delinquency row is 27%, compared with 19% in the original table, and the gamma score increases from - 0.21 to - 0.31.

We can thus conclude that an inverse relationship between a general commitment to school and delinquency exists quite strongly for boys, whereas no such relationship exists for the girls. This pattern may be attributable to the fact that although sex is not related to commitment, it is related to delinquency (boys being more delinquent than girls), and thus affects the relationship between commitment and delinquency.

In light of the substantial body of empirical evidence which links 'official' delinquency inversely with social class (see, for example: Cooper, 1960; Mack, 1964; Morris, 1957; Schmid, 1960; Wolf, 1962; Wolfgang et al, 1972), we expected that the relationship between school commitment and delinquency would vary by social class. This, in fact, turned out to be the case (Table 6).

The inverse relationship between commitment and delinquency is stronger for both strata of working-class respondents than for the middle-class respondents: for skilled and unskilled working-class respondents class background strengthens the original relationship, whereas among middle-class students it is weakened slightly.

Table 6

Delinquency by a General Commitment to School by Social Class

MIDDLE-CLASS

		GENERAL COMMITMENT TO SCHOOL		
		LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
DELINQUENCY	LOW	46 (39)	55 (59)	59 (82)
	MEDIUM	25 (21)	20 (22)	23 (31)
	HIGH	29 (25)	25 (27)	18 (25)
	TOTAL	(85)	(98)	(137)

GAMMA = - 0.17 P = N/S

SKILLED WORKING-CLASS

	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
LOW	32 (16)	54 (31)	53 (26)
MEDIUM	20 (10)	28 (16)	26 (13)
HIGH	48 (24)	18 (10)	20 (10)
TOTAL	(50)	(57)	(49)

GAMMA = - 0.30 P = $<.01$

UNSKILLED WORKING-CLASS

	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
LOW	38 (12)	47 (14)	61 (26)
MEDIUM	22 (7)	30 (9)	33 (14)
HIGH	41 (13)	23 (7)	7 (3)
TOTAL	(32)	(30)	(43)

GAMMA = - 0.38 P = $<.05$

In the skilled working-class partial table, the percentage difference between those with a low and high commitment in the low delinquency row is 21%, compared with 16% in the original table. Likewise, the percentage difference between those with high and low commitment in the high delinquency row is 18%, compared with 19% in the original table.

For the unskilled working-class respondents, the percentage difference between those with a low and high school commitment score in the low delinquency row is 23% (16% in the original table). In the high delinquency row the percentage differential is 34% (19% in the original table).

However, for middle-class respondents, the original relationship is slightly weakened. The percentage difference between those with low and high school commitment scores in the low delinquency row is 13%, and 11% in the high delinquency row.

Bearing in mind that neither commitment nor delinquency varies substantially by social class, it is difficult to account for the effect that social class has on the relationship between the two variables; there is, therefore, a strong possibility that the apparent effects of social class are due to statistical instabilities generated by small cell frequencies; these findings must, therefore, by very cautiously interpreted. Nevertheless, it does appear that students from working-class backgrounds are more likely than their middle-class counterparts to be embroilled in an inverse relationship linking commitment with delinquency.

To enable us to more fully explore our hypotheses concerning a differential involvement in delinquency, we need to test for the possible second order interactive effects of sex and social class with commitment and delinquency. Because the relationship between commitment to school and our various 'youth cultural' items varied between the skilled and unskilled working-class, we decided to present a trichotomised social class categorization. This, however, results in very small cell frequencies in some instances. Nevertheless, it was felt that the procedure of presenting three categories of social class was more desirable than employing a dichotomised categorization which would necessarily conceal differences within the working-class constituency with respect to the relationship between commitment and 'youth culture', particularly the pop media. However, because of the small numbers involved, any conclusions drawn from the results presented in Table 7 must remain tentative.

Nevertheless, despite the small cell frequencies the indication is that the inverse relationship between a general commitment to school and delinquency is very strong among unskilled working-class boys, and strong also among both skilled working-class and middle-class boys. There is also a fairly strong inverse relationship among girls from unskilled working-class backgrounds; and even among skilled working-class girls there is a modest, though clear, inverse relationship. However, the original inverse relationship between commitment to school and involvement in delinquency disappears for girls from middle-class backgrounds.

Table 7

Delinquency by a General Commitment to School by Sex by Social Class

MALE MIDDLE-CLASS

		GENERAL COMMITMENT TO SCHOOL		
		LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
DELINQUENCY	LOW	32 (14)	44 (26)	59 (41)
	MEDIUM	30 (13)	27 (16)	23 (16)
	HIGH	39 (17)	29 (17)	19 (13)
	TOTAL	(44)	(55)	(60)

GAMMA = - 0.31 P = N/S

FEMALE MIDDLE-CLASS

	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
LOW	61 (25)	67 (33)	60 (4)
MEDIUM	20 (8)	12 (6)	22 (15)
HIGH	20 (8)	20 (10)	18 (12)
TOTAL	(41)	(109)	(31)

GAMMA = 0.01 P = N/S

MALE SKILLED WORKING-CLASS

	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
LOW	25 (8)	47 (17)	48 (12)
MEDIUM	19 (6)	33 (12)	24 (6)
HIGH	56 (18)	19 (7)	28 (7)
TOTAL	(32)	(36)	(25)

GAMMA = -0.33 P = $<.05$

Table 7 (cont.)

FEMALE SKILLED WORKING-CLASS

		GENERAL COMMITMENT TO SCHOOL		
		LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
DELINQUENCY	LOW	44 (8)	67 (14)	58 (14)
	MEDIUM	22 (4)	19 (4)	29 (7)
	HIGH	33 (6)	14 (3)	13 (3)
	TOTAL	(20)	(21)	(24)
	GAMMA = - 0.20		P = N/S	

MALE UNSKILLED WORKING-CLASS

	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
LOW	32 (6)	36 (4)	60 (12)
MEDIUM	21 (4)	46 (5)	30 (6)
HIGH	47 (9)	18 (2)	10 (2)
TOTAL	(19)	(11)	(20)
GAMMA = - 0.46		P = N/S	

FEMALE UNSKILLED WORKING-CLASS

	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
LOW	46 (6)	53 (10)	61 (14)
MEDIUM	23 (3)	21 (4)	35 (8)
HIGH	31 (4)	26 (5)	4 (1)
TOTAL	(13)	(19)	(23)
GAMMA = - 0.27		P = N/S	

We can tentatively conclude, then,that boys are morelikely than girls to be involved in delinquent leisure-time activities, and that among boys and girls, respondents from unskilled working-class backgrounds are more likely than respondents from both skilled and middle-class backgrounds to embroil themselves in delinquency. In terms of our hypotheses, therefore, this pattern is very much as expected.

Our knowledge of the previous literature (see, for example: Stinchcombe, 1964; Hargreaves, 1967; McDonald, 1969; Polk and Halferty, 1972) had led us to expect that a number of factors relating to both a students' academic performance, and how he or she perceived that performance would influence the relationship between commitment and delinquency.

The intrinsic competitiveness of the secondary school, pivoting on largely middle-class assumptions of 'success' and 'prestige', centres upon the rewarding of the 'winners' and the sanctioning of the 'losers' in the student population. This, coupled with the fact that most high-school students understand the ramifications that a poor school performance might hold for their future life chances, produces a situation whereby the 'losers' either react against or dissassociate themselves from, the formal culture of the school.

Therefore, to test the hypothesis that the inverse relationship between commitment and delinquency would be stronger given a poor academic performance, three variables pertaining to academic performance were introduced as test factors: self-perceived school ability (in comparison with others), self-reported average grade for the last academic

year, and the actual or 'official' average grade for the past academic year, as found on the school board files.

When we controlled for the first of these 'in-school' academic variables - self-perception of school ability - the basic pattern remained unaltered. That is to say, independently of perceived school performance, 'commitment to school' has a modest inverse relationship to the degree of involvement in delinquent activities.

However, the introduction of self-reported grade as a test variable produced a slight change in the original relationship. (Table 8)

A low commitment to school is more strongly associated with a high level of delinquent activity among students with low self-reported grades than it is among students with high self-reported grades.

For those students with low grades there is a percentage difference of 17% between those with low and high commitment scores and low delinquency scores, whereas among students with high self-reported grades the equivalent categories produce a differential of 13%; in the original table (Table 4), the equivalent percentage differential was 16%. Likewise, for students with low grades there is an 18% difference between high and low commitment scores and high delinquency scores. The equivalent categories for students with high grades produce a difference of 15% ; in the original table, the equivalent percentage difference was 19%. Finally, the gamma score among students with low grades was -0.28; this compares with -0.15 among those with high grades and -0.21 in the original table.

Table 8

Delinquency by a General Commitment to School by Self-Reported Grades

HIGH SELF-REPORTED GRADES

		GENERAL COMMITMENT TO SCHOOL		
		LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
	LOW	45 (38)	61 (72)	58 (106)
	MEDIUM	25 (21)	20 (24)	27 (49)
DELINQUENCY	HIGH	30 (25)	19 (23)	15 (27)
	TOTAL	(84)	(119)	(92)
	GAMMA = - 0.15		P = <.05	

LOW SELF-REPORTED GRADES

	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
LOW	36 (33)	55 (48)	53 (41)
MEDIUM	23 (21)	26 (23)	24 (19)
HIGH	41 (37)	19 (17)	23 (18)
TOTAL	(91)	(88)	(78)
GAMMA = - 0.28		P = <.05	

The effect that self-reported grades has on the relationship between commitment and delinquency may be attributable to the fact that those students with low grades are more likely to have a low commitment, and to have a high delinquency score, than those students with high grades.

There are more substantial changes when the 'official' grade is introduced as a control variable (Table 9).

Table 9

Delinquency by a General Commitment to School by Official Grade

HIGH GRADES

		GENERAL COMMITMENT TO SCHOOL		
		LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
DELINQUENCY	LOW	47 (22)	62 (40)	55 (63)
	MEDIUM	26 (12)	19 (12)	30 (34)
	HIGH	28 (13)	20 (13)	16 (18)
	TOTAL	(47)	(65)	(115)
	GAMMA = - 0.09		P = N/S	

LOW GRADES

	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
LOW	31 (19)	53 (32)	52 (28)
MEDIUM	29 (18)	27 (16)	26 (14)
HIGH	40 (25)	20 (12)	22 (12)
TOTAL	(62)	(60)	(54)
GAMMA = - 0.27		P = $<.05$	

Among students with high grades, general commitment to school has only a slight relationship to involvement in delinquent leisure-time activities. There is a percentage difference of only 8% between those with a low and high school commitment and a low delinquency score, compared with 16% produced by the equivalent categories in the original relationship in Table 4. Likewise, there is a percentage difference of

only 12% (compared with 19% in the original relationship in Table 4) between those with low and high commitment scores and a high delinquency score.

On the other hand, among students with low official grades the original inverse relationship is strengthed slightly. The percentage difference between those with low and high commitment scores and low delinquency levels is increased to 21% (16% in the original table). However, the percentage difference between those with low and high commitment scores and high delinquency levels remains very similar to that produced in the original relationship (18% to 19%). Despite the small cell frequencies - which once again necessitate great caution in interpreting these results - the indication is that high 'official' grades affect the original relationship by substantially weakening it. Low 'official' grades, on the other hand, have the effect of strengthening the original relationship slightly. The effect that 'official' grades has on the relationship between commitment and delinquency is probably attributable to the fact that students with low grades are more likely to have a low commitment to school, and to have a high delinquency score than those with high grades.

In an attempt to control for the effects of age, we next explore the relationship between a general commitment to school and delinquency for junior and senior high schools separately. Table 10 depicts this relationship.

Table 10

Delinquency by a General Commitment to School by Grade of Schooling

JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL

		GENERAL COMMITMENT TO SCHOOL		
		LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
DELINQUENCY	LOW	35 (31)	46 (50)	52 (101)
	MEDIUM	23 (20)	30 (33)	30 (59)
	HIGH	43 (38)	25 (27)	18 (36)
	TOTAL	(89)	(110)	(196)
	GAMMA = - 0.25		P = <.01	

SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL

		LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
	LOW	47 (50)	67 (88)	70 (56)
	MEDIUM	24 (25)	17 (21)	18 (14)
	HIGH	30 (32)	16 (19)	13 (10)
	TOTAL	(107)	(128)	(80)
	GAMMA = - 0.31		P = <.05	

The indication is that the inverse relationship between a general commitment to school and delinquency is slightly stronger for senior high school students than it is for junior high school students if we compare gamma scores (-0.25 to -0.31). However, if we compare percentage differences, there is very little difference between those with low and

high commitment scores and low delinquency scores in the two constituencies (17% for the junior high school students and 23% for senior high school students). Likewise, the percentage difference between those with high and low school commitment in the high delinquency row is 25% for the junior high shcool constituency and 17% for the senior high school constituency. We can conclude, therefore, that age does not substantially affect the relationship between school commitment and delinquency.

Summary of Findings

The results presented so far support our hypothesis - that a general commitment to school is inversely associated with delinquency. Furthermore, we have found that this relationship varies by both sex and social class such that this inverse relationship is strongest for unskilled working-class boys and weakest for middle-class girls.

In addition, we have found that two of our three in-school academic factors, self-reported grade and 'official' grade affect the basic inverse relationship: that among students with low grades, a low commitment to school is more strongly associated with delinquency than it is among students with high grades. However, the third academic variable - self-perceived ability - failed to materialize as a factor influencing the basic pattern. Finally, we found that age did not significantly affect the basic inverse relationship between commitment and delinquency.

Commitment to School and Involvement in Pop Media Culture

This next section looks at the relationship between a general commitment to school and involvement in the pop media. Three seperate indicators of such involvement were used, namely the size of respondents' record collections, the number of records bought within the last three months, and respondents' self-conception of themsleves as a rock fan. On each of these indicators, respondents were assigned a high, medium or low categorization.

Our hypothesis is that there will be an inverse relationship between a general commitment to school and pop media involvement. Table 11 presents this cross-tabulated relationship, using the first indicator of pop media involvement.

Table 11

Size of Record Collection by a General Commitment to School

		GENERAL COMMITMENT TO SCHOOL		
		LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
SIZE OF RECORD COLLECTION	SMALL	26 (47)	33 (67)	39 (100)
	MEDIUM	36 (65)	32 (65)	33 (84)
	LARGE	38 (68)	35 (70)	28 (70)
	TOTAL	(180)	(202)	(254)
	GAMMA = - 0.16		P = $\leq$.05	

The indication is that there is a slight inverse relationship between 'size of record collection' and a 'general commitment to school': 26% of those with a low commitment claim to have small record collections, whereas this percentage increases to 39% for those with a high commitment to school. Conversely, 38% of those students with a low commitment to school have large record collections while this percentage size decreases to 28% for those with a high commitment. There is, therefore, some slight support for our hypothesis: those students with a lower commitment to school have larger record connections than those with a higher commitment.

In terms of our argument concerning a differential involvement in the pop media, we are predicting that the inverse relationship between school commitment and size of record collection will be stronger for girls than boys, and stronger for middle-class students than for both strata of working-class students. More precisely, we are predicting that the strongest relationship will be among middle-class girls, and the weakest among boys from unskilled working-class backgrounds .

Table 12 depicts what happened to the relationship between size of record collection and general commitment when sex is controlled.

Among the girls, the relationship between commitment and size of record collection is reduced almost to the point of non-existence.

However, among the boys, commitment bears a considerably greater relationship to the size of record collection: 49% of those with a high commitment to school have small collections, as opposed to 24% of those with a low commitment to school. Conversely, only 23% of those with a high commitment to school have large collections, whereas 36% of the boys with low commitment to school have large collections.

Table 12

Size of Record Collection by a General Commitment to School by Sex

MALE

SIZE OF RECORD COLLECTION	GENERAL COMMITMENT TO SCHOOL		
	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
SMALL	24 (26)	40 (44)	49 (64)
MEDIUM	40 (43)	28 (30)	29 (38)
LARGE	36 (38)	32 (35)	23 (30)
TOTAL	(107)	(109)	(132)
GAMMA = - 0.25		P = <.05	

FEMALE

	GENERAL COMMITMENT TO SCHOOL		
	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
SMALL	29 (21)	25 (23)	30 (36)
MEDIUM	30 (22)	38 (35)	38 (46)
LARGE	41 (30)	38 (35)	33 (40)
TOTAL	(73)	(93)	(122)
GAMMA = - 0.07		P = N/S	

Again, it is difficult to account for the effect that sex has on the relationship between commitment and size of record collection because sex is related to neither commitment nor size of collection. Nevertheless, it appears to affect this relationship, but in a way opposite to what was expected.

Table 13 depicts what happens to the relationship between school commitment and size of record collection when controls for social class are introduced.

Table 13

Size of Record Collection by a General Commitment to School by Social Class

MIDDLE-CLASS

SIZE OF RECORD COLLECTION	GENERAL COMMITMENT TO SCHOOL		
	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
SMALL	20 (16)	27 (26)	37 (47)
MEDIUM	36 (29)	38 (37)	33 (42)
LARGE	44 (35)	36 (35)	31 (39)
TOTAL	(80)	(98)	(128)

GAMMA = - 0.20 P = N/S

SKILLED WORKING-CLASS

	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
SMALL	32 (14)	58 (28)	49 (22)
MEDIUM	43 (19)	25 (12)	42 (19)
LARGE	25 (11)	17 (8)	9 (4)
TOTAL	(44)	(48)	(45)

GAMMA = - 0.23 P = $<.05$

UNSKILLED WORKING-CLASS

	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
SMALL	37 (11)	29 (7)	41 (15)
MEDIUM	27 (8)	33 (8)	30 (11)
LARGE	37 (11)	38 (9)	30 (11)
TOTAL	(30)	(24)	(37)

GAMMA = - 0.08 P = N/S

Among the middle and skilled working-class respondents, the original relationship between commitment and size of record collection is strengthened slightly (see Table 11). For the middle-class respondents, the percentage differential between those with high and low commitment ratings in the small record collection row is 17%; in the original table, the equivalent categories produce a 13% differential. Conversely, the percentage differential between those with high and low commitments in the large record collection row increases to 13% from 10% in the equivalent categories in the original table.

When we look at the skilled working-class partial table we find that 49% of those who have a high commitment to school have small record collections, compared to 32% of those with a low commitment to school; this produces a differential of 17%, compared with the differential of 13% produced by the equivalent categories in the original table. Students with a low commitment to school are more likely than students with a high commitment to have large record collections (25% to 9%); this produces a differential of 16%, compared with the differential of 10% produced by the equivalent categories in the original table. Again, we find the gamma score (-0.23) to be larger than in the original table (-0.16).

When we look at the respondents from unskilled working-class backgrounds, we find that commitment has no relationship to the size of record collection.

Social class is not related to either commitment or the size of record collection. It is therefore difficult to account for the effect that social class apparently has on the relationship between the two variables. In fact, it is quite possible that the differential effects apparently produced by social class are attributable to the small cell frequencies found in Table 13. Therefore, very great caution must be employed when interpreting these results. Nevertheless, if we take these results as valid, they do seem to suggest that the relationship between commitment to school and size of record collection does vary by social class. More particularly, we found that for those respondents from unskilled working-class homes, the relationship between commitment and record collection is not maintained.

So far, then, we have found that the relationship between a general commitment to school and pop media involvement varies by both sex and social class. In terms of sex, we found that the original relationship is strengthened among boys, but disappears among the girls. With respect to our predictions, therefore, controlling for sex has produced effects opposite to what we had expected. In terms of social class, we have found that there is a clear inverse relationship for middle-class and skilled working-class students, but that this relationship is non-existent among unskilled working-class respondents. Partial support is therefore provided for our argument concerning differential involvement of adolescents by social class in the pop media, as measured by self-reported

size of record collection.

Again we are expecting that sex and social class will interact with school commitment to affect the size of record collection. More precisely, we are predicting that the strongest inverse relationship will be found among middle-class girls and the weakest among unskilled working-class boys. The joint effects of sex and social class on the relationship between commitment and size of record collection are presented in Table 14.

Although the cell frequencies are again too small to allow us to reach anything more than the most tentative of conclusions, the indication seems to be that our hypotheses are not supported. Contrary to what we had expected, the strongest inverse relationship between size of record collection and commitment to school exists among unskilled working-class boys, followed by middle-class boys and skilled working-class boys. Among girls from skilled working-class backgrounds, there is still some indication of an inverse relationship between school commitment and the size of record collection. However, among middle-class girls, the expected inverse relationship fails to emerge - the indication being, therefore, that middle-class girls with a low commitment to school are no more involved in the buying of rock-records than their peers with a high commitment.

More dramatic, however, is the indication that among girls from unskilled working-class backgrounds a low commitment to school is associated with small record collections. That is to say, there is a slight positive correlation between commitment to school and the size of record collection among unskilled working-class girls.

Table 14

Size of Record Collection by a General Commitment to School by Sex and Social Class

MALE MIDDLE-CLASS

SIZE OF RECORD COLLECTION	GENERAL COMMITMENT TO SCHOOL		
	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
SMALL	16 (7)	36 (20)	46 (30)
MEDIUM	36 (16)	33 (18)	24 (16)
LARGE	49 (22)	31 (17)	30 (20)
TOTAL	(45)	(55)	(66)
GAMMA = - 0.29		P = $<.05$	

FEMALE MIDDLE-CLASS

	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
SMALL	26 (9)	14 (6)	27 (17)
MEDIUM	37 (13)	44 (19)	42 (26)
LARGE	37 (13)	42 (18)	31 (19)
TOTAL	(35)	(43)	(62)
GAMMA = - 0.10		P = N/S	

MALE SKILLED WORKING-CLASS

	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
SMALL	25 (7)	57 (17)	46 (10)
MEDIUM	54 (15)	23 (7)	41 (9)
LARGE	21 (6)	20 (6)	14 (3)
TOTAL	(28)	(30)	(22)
GAMMA = - 0.23		P = N/S	

Table 14 (cont)

FEMALE SKILLED WORKING-CLASS

SIZE OF RECORD COLLECTION	GENERAL COMMITMENT TO SCHOOL		
	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
SMALL	44 (7)	61 (11)	52 (12)
MEDIUM	25 (4)	28 (5)	44 (10)
LARGE	31 (5)	11 (2)	4 (1)
TOTAL	(16)	(18)	(23)

GAMMA = - 0.19 P = N/S

MALE UNSKILLED WORKING-CLASS

	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
SMALL	39 (7)	30 (3)	65 (11)
MEDIUM	28 (5)	30 (3)	35 (6)
LARGE	33 (6)	40 (4)	0 (0)
TOTAL	(18)	(10)	(17)

GAMMA = - 0.41 P = N/S

FEMALE UNSKILLED WORKING-CLASS

	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
SMALL	33 (4)	29 (4)	20 (4)
MEDIUM	25 (3)	36 (5)	25 (5)
LARGE	42 (5)	36 (5)	55 (11)
TOTAL	(12)	(14)	(20)

GAMMA = + 0.20 P = N/S

We can tentatively conclude that the inverse relationship linking commitment to school with the size of record collection is stronger for boys than it is for girls, and that among the boys, a low school commitment is most strongly associated with large record collections for those from unskilled working-class backgrounds, followed by boys from middle-class and skilled working-class homes. Among the girls, the inverse relationship exists among students from skilled working-class backgrounds. In due course, we will provide a tentative explanation for this largely unexpected pattern of results.

We next explore the effect that the in-school academic performance factors might have on the basic relationship. Once again, we are expecting that the relationship between size of record collection and commitment to school will be stronger for those doing poorly in school than for those doing well.

Table 15 depicts what happens to this relationship when self-perception of school ability is controlled for.

Despite the small numbers involved, the relationship between general commitment to school and size of record collection does appear to be affectd by how a student perceives his academic ability, but not in the way we had expected.

Table 15

Size of Record Collection by a General Commitment to School by Academic Self-Concept

HIGH SELF-CONCEPT

SIZE OF RECORD COLLECTION	GENERAL COMMITMENT TO SCHOOL: LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
SMALL	20 (7)	38 (26)	50 (47)
MEDIUM	34 (12)	26 (18)	37 (42)
LARGE	46 (11)	36 (25)	23 (26)
TOTAL	(30)	(69)	(116)
GAMMA = - 0.25		P = <.05	

LOW SELF-CONCEPT

	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
SMALL	29 (35)	30 (37)	39 (47)
MEDIUM	38 (46)	36 (44)	30 (36)
LARGE	34 (41)	34 (42)	32 (39)
TOTAL	(122)	(123)	(122)
GAMMA = - 0.07		P = N/S	

For those students with a high self-conception of their academic abilities, the original inverse relationship is strengthened: 50% of those with a high commitment to school, compared to 20% of those with a low commitment, are found to have small record collections. Conversely, only 23% of those with a high commitment to school have large record collections, compared to 46% of those with low commitment. It should also be noted that students with a medium commitment to school are less

likely than students with a high commitment to have medium-sized record collections (16% to 37%).

When we look at those students with a low self-conception of their academic abilities, we find the original relationship to be weakened. The percentage difference between those with low and high school commitments and small record collections is 10%, compared to 13% produced by the equivalent categories in the original table. Again, there is a differential of only 2% between those with low and high commitment scores and large collections; in the original table there was a differential of 10%. The weakened relationship between commitment and record size is also reflected in the diminished gamma score (- 0.07, as against - 0.16 in the original table).

We can tentatively conclude that the relationship of general school commitment to size of record collection does vary somewhat by how a student regards his academic ability. The interesting question is why the relationship between commitment and record collection is strong among students with a high regard for their own abilities but weak among those with a low regard for their abilities. This question is made the more interesting because we know that those students with a low regard of their academic abilities are more likely than those with a high regard to be low on school commitment. A possible explanation for this unexpected turn of events will be outlined in due course.

The effect that self-reported average grades appears to have on the relationship between commitment to school and the size of record collection is presented in Table 16.

Table 16

Size of Record Collection by a General Commitment to School by Self-Reported Grades

HIGH SELF-REPORTED GRADES

		GENERAL COMMITMENT TO SCHOOL		
		LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
SIZE OF RECORD COLLECTION	SMALL	24 (18)	39 (41)	40 (67)
	MEDIUM	34 (26)	31 (33)	37 (61)
	LARGE	42 (32)	30 (32)	23 (39)
	TOTAL	(76)	(106)	(167)
	GAMMA = - 0.21		P = <.05	

LOW SELF-REPORTED GRADES

	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
SMALL	29 (24)	25 (19)	42 (30)
MEDIUM	35 (29)	29 (22)	27 (19)
LARGE	37 (31)	45 (34)	31 (22)
TOTAL	(84)	(75)	(71)
GAMMA = - 0.11		P = N/S	

For those students who report a high average grade for the past academic year, the relationship of commitment to the size of record collection is strengthened: in the original table the percentage difference between those with high and low commitments and small record collections is 13%: in Table 16, looking at the same categories, the difference has increased to 16%. Likewise, the percentage differ-

ence between those with high and low commitment scores and large collections is 10% in the original table: -in Table 16, looking at the same categories, the difference is increased to 19%. In terms of percentage differences, therefore, the original relationship is modestly strengthened. Among those students with low self-reported grades, the effect that general commitment has on the size of record collection is more complicated. When looking at the percentage difference between those with high and low commitment scores and small collection, we find it to be identical to the difference found in the original table (13%). However, when we look at the percentage difference between those with high, low and medium commitments and large record collections, we find that it is those students with a medium commitment to school who are most likely to have the large record collections (45%, as against 37% of those with a low commitment, and 31% for students with a high commitment). Therefore, among those students with low self-reported grades, the original relationship between commitment to school and size of record collection is weakened. Once again, of course, we find that the inverse relationship is stronger for students who report high grades than it is for those who report low grades, even though there is a strong inverse relationship between commitment to school and self-reported grades.

The last of the in-school academic factors to be examined in terms of possible effects on the relationship between a general commitment to school and the size of record collection is the actual or 'official' average grade received by respondents during the past academic year.

The fact that cell frequencies are small once again necessitates that we place no great confidence in the findings presented in Table 17.

Table 17

Size of Record Collection by a General Commitment to School by Official Grade

HIGH OFFICIAL GRADE

		GENERAL COMMITMENT TO SCHOOL		
		LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
SIZE OF RECORD COLLECTION	SMALL	33 (14)	36 (21)	40 (44)
	MEDIUM	31 (13)	34 (20)	33 (36)
	LARGE	36 (15)	31 (18)	27 (29)
	TOTAL	(42)	(59)	(109)
	GAMMA = - 0.11		P = N/S	

LOW OFFICIAL GRADES

	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
SMALL	23 (14)	33 (17)	40 (21)
MEDIUM	43 (26)	29 (15)	30 (16)
LARGE	33 (20)	39 (20)	30 (16)
TOTAL	(60)	(52)	(53)
GAMMA = - 0.13		P = N/S	

When we look at the relationship between commitment and size of record collection among those who achieve high grades, we find a weakened relationship when compared with the relationship found in the original table. Highly commited students are only slightly more likely

to have small record collections than the lowly commited (40% to 33%); in the original table the percentage difference is 13%. Similarly, lowly commited students are only slightly more likely than students with a high level of commitment to have large collections (36% to 27%); in the original table there was a 10% difference. Furthermore, the strength of the relationship, as indicated by a gamma score of - 0.11, is weaker than in the original table, where the gamma score was - 0.16.

Among students who achieve low average grades, those with a high commitment to school are quite considerably more likely to have small record collections than their lowly commited counterparts (40% to 23%); this is a stronger relationship than found in the original (where the percentage difference was 13%). However, there is almost no difference between highly and lowly commited students in terms of large record collections (32% to 30%). The failure of the inverse relationship to materialize may be a product of the fact that, comparing across the middle-row (medium-sized record colledtions) , we find that there are percentage differences of 13% and 14% between those with a low commitment to school and those with medium and high commitments, respectively. In short, the medium-sized record collection proves to be particularly characteristic of those with a low school commitment.

Because of the small cell frequencies involved, it is rather difficult to come to any definitive conclusion as to the role that official school grade might play in the relationship between independent and dependent variable. For those who achieve high academic grades, the origin-

al relationship appears slightly depressed; for those with low grades, there is no clear-cut pattern.

Finally, we look at the relationship between a general commitment to school and the size of record collection for junior and senior high school students separately. Table 18 indicates that this relationship varies by grade of schooling.

Table 18

Size of Record Collection by a General Commitment to School by Grade of Schooling

JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL

		GENERAL COMMITMENT TO SCHOOL		
		LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
SIZE OF RECORD COLLECTION	SMALL	38 (32)	41 (37)	44 (79)
	MEDIUM	33 (28)	33 (30)	30 (53)
	LARGE	29 (35)	26 (23)	26 (46)
	TOTAL	(95)	(90)	(178)
	GAMMA = - 0.07		P = N/S	

SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL

		LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
	SMALL	16 (15)	27 (30)	28 (21)
	MEDIUM	39 (37)	31 (35)	41 (31)
	LARGE	45 (43)	42 (47)	32 (24)
	TOTAL	(95)	(122)	(76)
	GAMMA = - 0.17		P = N/S	

For the junior high school students there is no significant relationship between a general commitment to school and size of record collection. However, among senior high school students we find the originally modest relationship marginally strengthened (the percentage difference between those students with low and high commitment scores and large record collections is 13% for senior high school students and 10% for the total sample; again, the gamma score is - 0.17 for the senior high school sample, compared to - 0.16 in the original table).

The second of our indicators of involvement in pop media was derived from the number of records a student reported having bought within the last three months. On the basis of their replies, respondents were assigned a high, medium or low categorization. Table 19 presents the relationship between a general commitment to school and the number of records bought within the last three months.

Table 19

The Number of Records Bought within the Last Three Months by a General Commitment to School

		GENERAL COMMITMENT TO SCHOOL		
		LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
NUMBER OF RECORDS BOUGHT WITHIN THE LAST THREE MONTHS	LOW	36 (68)	42 (91)	43 (115)
	MEDIUM	31 (58)	36 (78)	33 (89)
	HIGH	33 (61)	22 (47)	24 (65)
	TOTAL	(187)	(216)	(269)
	GAMMA = - 0.09		P = N/S	

Although in the predicted direction, the relationship between commitment and the number of records bought in the last three months is weak. Highly commited students are only slightly more likely to have bought a small number of records within the last three months than those with a low commitment. Conversely, those students with a low commitment to school are only slightly more likely to have bought a large number of records than their more highly commited peers (33% to 24%). There does not, therefore, appear to be any significant relationship between general commitment and the number of records recently bought.

However, the absence of a relationship between the two variables may be due to the suppressor effects of sex and/or social class. Therefore, to test our argument concerning a differential involvement in the pop media by sex and social class, such controls were introduced. Once again, we are expecting the inverse relationship between commitment and involvement in the pop media, as indicated by the number of recently bought records, to be stronger for girls than for boys, and for middle-class students than both strata of working-class students. More precisely, we are expecting the strongest relationship to be among middle-class girls and the weakest among unskilled working-class boys. Table 20 displays what happens when we controlled for sex.

Table 20

The Number of Records Bought within the Last Three Months by a General Commitment to School by Sex

MALE

NUMBER OF RECORDS BOUGHT WITHIN THE LAST THREE MONTHS	GENERAL COMMITMENT TO SCHOOL: LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
LOW	36 (39)	46 (51)	50 (70)
MEDIUM	32 (34)	30 (33)	27 (38)
HIGH	32 (35)	25 (28)	22 (3)
TOTAL	(108)	(112)	(141)

GAMMA = - 0.16 P = N/S

FEMALE

	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
LOW	37 (29)	39 (40)	35 (45)
MEDIUM	30 (24)	43 (45)	39 (51)
HIGH	33 (26)	18 (19)	26 (34)
TOTAL	(79)	(104)	(130)

GAMMA = - 0.003 P= N/S

Among the girls, the already weak relationship found in the original table was further reduced. However, among the boys a modest, though clear, inverse relationship emerges; boys with a high commitment to school are more likely than boys with a low commitment to have bought a small number of records recently (50% to 36%). Conversely, those boys with a low commitment to school are more likely than the

highly commited to have bought a large number of records within the last three months (32% against 22%).

The effect that sex has on the relationship between commitment and the number of records bought within the last three months is difficult to account for because sex is not related to number of records bought. However, the indication is that for boys there is a modest inverse relationship between commitment and record buying, whereas for girls the relationship is virtually non-existent.

When social class was controlled, it did not modify the original results of Table 19. However, although it did not quite achieve statistical significance, the association between commitment and recently bought records was stronger for middle-class respondents than it was for the two categories of working-class respondents.

Because we are again expecting that sex and social class will interact with commitment to affect adolescent record buying, sex and social class are controlled simultaneously. (Table 21).

Table 21

The Number of Records Bought within the Last Three Months by a General Commitment to School by Sex and Social Class

MALE MIDDLE-CLASS

		GENERAL COMMITMENT TO SCHOOL		
		LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
NUMBER OF RECORDS BOUGHT WITHIN THE LAST THREE MONTHS	LOW	26 (12)	39 (21)	47 (33)
	MEDIUM	30 (14)	35 (19)	29 (20)
	LARGE	44 (20)	26 (14)	24 (17)
	TOTAL	(46)	(54)	(70)

GAMMA = - 0.25 P = N/S

FEMALE MIDDLE-CLASS

	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
LOW	36 (14)	36 (17)	30 (20)
MEDIUM	33 (13)	47 (22)	42 (28)
LARGE	31 (12)	17 (8)	27 (18)
TOTAL	(39)	(47)	(66)

GAMMA = 0.05 P = N/S

MALE SKILLED WORKING-CLASS

	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
LOW	43 (12)	55 (18)	39 (9)
MEDIUM	32 (9)	27 (9)	39 (9)
LARGE	25 (7)	18 (6)	22 (5)
TOTAL	(38)	(33)	(23)

GAMMA = - 0.00 P = N/S

Table 21 (cont)

FEMALE SKILLED WORKING-CLASS

NUMBER OF RECORDS BOUGHT WITHIN THE LAST THREE MONTHS	GENERAL COMMITMENT TO SCHOOL		
	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
LOW	47 (7)	52 (11)	54 (13)
MEDIUM	27 (4)	43 (9)	38 (9)
LARGE	27 (4)	5 (1)	8 (2)
TOTAL	(15)	(21)	(24)

GAMMA = - 0.15 P = N/S

MALE UNSKILLED WORKING-CLASS

	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
LOW	56 (10)	46 (5)	77 (13)
MEDIUM	28 (5)	36 (4)	12 (2)
LARGE	17 (3)	18 (2)	12 (2)
TOTAL	(18)	(11)	(17)

GAMMA = - 0.24 P = N/S

FEMALE UNSKILLED WORKING-CLASS

	LOW	EMDIUM	HIGH
LOW	21 (3)	39 (7)	19 (4)
MEDIUM	43 (6)	44 (8)	43 (9)
LARGE	36 (5)	17 (3)	38 (8)
TOTAL	(14)	(18)	(21)

GAMMA = 0.09 P = N/S

The first point that needs to be made is that cell frequencies in Table 21 are very small. Therefore, any conclusions drawn are exceedingly tentative. However, insofar as any trend can be detected, it is not in support of our hypotheses. The only firm indication of a strong inverse relationship between school commitment and record buying exists among middle-class boys. Although not as strong an association, there is also some evidence of an inverse relationship among unskilled working-class boys, and to a lesser extent, among skilled working-class girls. However, among the three other categories of students (middle-class girls, skilled working-class boys and unskilled working-class girls), the recent buying of rock records was not associated with commitment to school.

The three in-school academic variables are next examined to see how they affect the relationship between commitment and record buying.

We first of all find that self-perception of academic ability affects this basic relationship, as Table 22 indicates.

For those students with a low perception of their academic ability, the already weak original relationship depicted in Table 19 almost completely disappears. However, for students with a high estimation of their ability, commitment has a pronounced effect upon the number of records bought by adolescents: those with a high school commitment are quite considerably more likely to have bought a small number of records recently than students with a low commitment (45% to 24%). Conversely, students with a low commitment to school are more likely than their more highly commited counterparts to have bought a large number of records within the last three months. Despite the small cell frequencies

in some instances, a pattern has emerged again whereby a positive self-perception of school ability strengthens the original relationship and a negative perception weakens it. This is, of course, contrary to what we had expected and is particularly surprising since we know that there is an inverse relationship between commitment to school and self-perceived academic ability, and between recently bought records and self-perceived academic ability. Once again an explanation will be provided in due course.

Table 22

The Number of Records Bought within the Last Three Months by a General Commitment to School by Academic Self-Concept

HIGH SELF-PERCEPTION

		GENERAL COMMITMENT TO SCHOOL		
		LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
NUMBER OF RECORDS BOUGHT WITHIN THE LAST THREE MONTHS	LOW	24 (9)	47 (35)	45 (55)
	MEDIUM	34 (13)	36 (27)	35 (43)
	LARGE	42 (16)	17 (13)	20 (25)
	TOTAL	(38)	(75)	(123)
	GAMMA = -0.18		P = <.05	

LOW SELF-PERCEPTION

		LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
	LOW	40 (51)	38 (49)	43 (55)
	MEDIUM	31 (39)	39 (50)	32 (40)
	LARGE	29 (37)	24 (31)	25 (32)
	TOTAL	(127)	(130)	(127)
	GAMMA = 0.05		P = N/S	

When a control on self-reported grade was introduced, it was not found to influence the original relationship.

The last of the in-school variables to be examined in terms of the relationship between school commitment and records bought, is the actual grade received by respondents during the last academic year. Table 23 shows what happens when 'official' grade is controlled.

Table 23

The Number of Records Bought within the Last Three Months by a General Commitment to School by Official Grades

HIGH GRADE

		GENERAL COMMITMENT TO SCHOOL		
		LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
NUMBER OF RECORDS BOUGHT WITHIN THE LAST THREE MONTHS	LOW	47 (21)	41 (26)	39 (45)
	MEDIUM	24 (11)	40 (25)	37 (43)
	LARGE	29 (13)	19 (12)	25 (29)
	TOTAL	(45)	(63)	(117)

GAMMA = - 0.06 P= N/S

LOW GRADE

	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
LOW	33 (20)	43 (23)	48 (26)
MEDIUM	40 (24)	30 (16)	28 (15)
LARGE	27 (16)	26 (14)	24 (13)
TOTAL	(60)	(53)	(54)

GAMMA = - 0.13 P = N/S

Both partial tables produce fairly complex patterns which are difficult to interpret. Among those with high grades there is no significant difference between low and high commitment scores and either small or large record purchases. However, those students with a medium or high commitment to school are more likely to have bought a 'medium' number of records than those with a low commitment to school.

It is less easy to interpret the effect that commitment has on record buying for those with low grades. Students with a high commitment to school are more likely than those with a low commitment to have bought a small number of records within the last three months (48% to 33%, which produces a differential of 15%, compared with a percentage difference of 7% in the original table). However, the converse is not true: -those with a low commitment to school are not more likely than their more highly commited peers to have bought a large number of records recently. The failure of the expected inverse relationship to materialize is probably attributable to the unexpected linkage between a low commitment to school and the medium 'records bought' category: 40% of those with a low school commitment, compared with 30% of the mediumly commited, and 28% of the highly commited , fall within this record buying category.

It is therefore, very difficult to see how students' 'official' school performance is affecting the relationship between school commitment and recent record buying. However, the indication is that there is a slight inverse relationship among students with low grades. Among

students with high grades, there appears to be no significant relationship. Finally, the introduction of grade of schooling did not alter the basic pattern: irrespective of school grade, there is no relationship between the two variables.

The last of our indicators of involvement in the pop media is previded by an item on the questionnaire which asked "how interested are you in rock music?" We will refer to this indicator as 'self-concept as a rock fan', and our hypothesis is that students with a low commitment to school are more likely than highly commited students to see themselves as keen rock fans. Table 24 presents the relationship between 'self-concept asa rock fan' and a general commitment to school.

Table 24

Self-Concept as a Rock Fan by a General Commitment to School

		GENERAL COMMITMENT TO SCHOOL		
		LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
SELF-CONCEPT AS A ROCK FAN	STRONG	35 (69)	24 (55)	19 (53)
	MEDIUM	43 (86)	50 (116)	49 (137)
	WEAK	22 (44)	26 (60)	33 (92)
	TOTAL	(199)	(231)	(282)
	GAMMA = 0.20		P = <.05	

Clearly, those who have a low commitment to school are more likely to have a strong self-concept as a rock fan than those who have a high commitment (35% to 19%). Conversely, those with a high commitment to school are more likely than those with a low commitment to have a weak self-concept (33% to 22%).

Again, we are expecting that this relationship will be affected by both sex and social class: that the association between a low commitment and a strong self-image as a rock fan will be stronger for girls than for boys, and stronger for middle-class students than for both groups of working-class students. More precisely, we are expecting that the interaction of sex and social class will produce a situation whereby the strongest relation between commitment and self-concept as a rock fan will be found among middle-class girls and the weakest among unskilled working-class boys.

However, sex did not appear to affect the basic relationship. That is to say, girls were no more likely to be involved in this inverse relationship than boys.

Table 25 depicts the effect that social class has on the relationship between commitment and rock fan.

Table 25

Self-Concept as a Rock Fan by a General Commitment to School by Social Class

MIDDLE-CLASS

SELF CONCEPT AS A ROCK FAN	GENERAL COMMITMENT TO SCHOOL: LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
STRONG	32 (28)	27 (24)	14 (19)
MEDIUM	46 (40)	50 (54)	50 (70)
WEAK	22 (19)	24 (26)	37 (52)
TOTAL	(87)	(104)	(141)

GAMMA = 0.28 P = <.05

SKILLED WORKING-CLASS

	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
STRONG	36 (18)	14 (8)	10 (5)
MEDIUM	44 (22)	49 (28)	58 (29)
WEAK	20 (10)	37 (21)	32 (16)
TOTAL	(50)	(57)	(50)

GAMMA = 0.29 P = <.01

UNSKILLED WORKING-CLASS

	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
STRONG	33 (11)	33 (10)	26 (11)
MEDIUM	36 (12)	43 (13)	49 (21)
WEAK	30 (10)	23 (7)	26 (11)
TOTAL	(33)	(30)	(43)

GAMMA = 0.03 P = N/S

The indication is that the original relationship between commitment and self-concept as a rock fan is slightly strengthened among the middle-class and skilled working-class respondents. However, among the unskilled working-class the effect of commitment on self-concept as a rock fan is so weak that the original relationship almost completely disappears. Once more, small cell sizes prevent us from drawing any confident conclusion from these results. Nevertheless, it does appear that the relationship between general commitment and self-concept as a rock fan is differentially affected by social class - that for those students from middle-class and skilled working-class backgrounds, the original relationship is strengthened, whereas for students from unskilled working-class backgrounds there appears to be no relationship at all.

We next explore the simultaneous effects of sex and social class on the relationship between school commitment and self-concept as a rock fan.

Table 26

Self-Concept as a Rock Fan by a General Commitment to School by Sex and Social Class

MALE MIDDLE-CLASS

SELF CONCEPT AS A ROCK FAN	GENERAL COMMITMENT TO SCHOOL		
	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
STRONG	35 (16)	27 (16)	13 (9)
MEDIUM	41 (19)	44 (26)	40 (29)
WEAK	24 (11)	29 (17)	47 (34)
TOTAL	(46)	(59)	(72)
GAMMA = 0.34		P = <.05	

FEMALE MIDDLE-CLASS

	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
STRONG	29 (12)	26 (13)	15 (10)
MEDIUM	51 (21)	56 (28)	59 (41)
WEAK	20 (8)	18 (9)	26 (18)
TOTAL	(41)	(50)	(69)
GAMMA = 0.21		P = N/S	

MALE SKILLED WORKING-CLASS

	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
STRONG	28 (9)	11 (4)	12 (3)
MEDIUM	47 (15)	42 (15)	60 (15)
WEAK	25 (8)	47 (17)	28 (7)
TOTAL	(32)	(36)	(25)
GAMMA = 0.16		P = N/S	

Table 26 (cont)

FEMALE SKILLED WORKING-CLASS

GENERAL COMMITMENT TO SCHOOL

SELF CONCEPT AS A ROCK FAN	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
STRONG	50 (9)	19 (4)	8 (2)
MEDIUM	39 (7)	62 (13)	56 (14)
WEAK	11 (2)	19 (4)	36 (9)
TOTAL	(18)	(21)	(25)

GAMMA = 0,54 P = $<.05$

MALE UNSKILLED WORKING-CLASS

	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
STRONG	16 (3)	27 (3)	5 (1)
MEDIUM	53 (10)	46 (5)	58 (11)
WEAK	32 (6)	27 (3)	37 (7)
TOTAL	(19)	(11)	(19)

GAMMA = 0.14 P = N/S

FEMALE UNSKILLED WORKING-CLASS

	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
STRONG	57 (8)	37 (7)	42 (10)
MEDIUM	14 (2)	42 (8)	42 (10)
WEAK	29 (4)	21 (4)	17 (4)
TOTAL	(14)	(19)	(24)

GAMMA = 0.02 P = N/S

Once again, the extremely small numbers found in some cells necessitates that we place no great confidence in these results. Nevertheless, the indication is that the strongest relationship exists among girls from skilled working-class backgrounds. A fairly strong inverse relationship was found among middle-class boys, and a modest relationship among middle-class girls. Among both strata of working-class boys and unskilled working-class girls no inverse relationship was found. The interaction of sex and social class, although affecting the relationship between commitment and self-concept as a rock fan, does not produce a clear-cut pattern. Tentatively, we might suggest that, with the exception of girls from skilled working-class backgrounds, the inverse relationship between commitment and self-concept as a rock fan is stronger for middle-class students than it is for either strata of working-class students. However, there is a possibility that such results are the product of small cell frequencies and attendent statistical instabilities. Suspicions of this sort are reinforced by the fact that social class is not related to self-concept as a rock fan: it is difficult therefore to account for the effect that social class apparently has on 'rock fan'.

The possible effect of the three in-school variables (self-perceived ability, self-reported grade and official grades) were then tested. The introduction of the first two variables - self-perceived ability, and self-reported grade did not yield any change in the modest relationship between the independent and dependent variables.

When we look at the effect of official grades on the relationship between a general commitment to school and self-concept as a rock fan, we find evidence of a modest inter-active effect. (Table 27).

Table 27

Self Concept as a Rock Fan by a General Commitment to School by Official Grade

HIGH GRADES

SELF CONCEPT AS A ROCK FAN	GENERAL COMMITMENT TO SCHOOL: LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
STRONG	34 (16)	11 (7)	17 (20)
MEDIUM	43 (20)	57 (37)	50 (59)
WEAK	23 (11)	32 (21)	33 (38)
TOTAL	(47)	(65)	(117)
GAMMA = 0.14		P = <.05	

LOW GRADES

	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
STRONG	36 (22)	29 (17)	21 (12)
MEDIUM	48 (30)	42 (25)	46 (28)
WEAK	16 (10)	29 (17)	32 (18)
TOTAL	(62)	(59)	(58)
GAMMA = 0.22		P = N/S	

In terms of the respective gamma scores, the relationship between commitment and rock fan is slightly stronger for those with low grades than it is for those with high grades. However, in terms of

percentage differences between high and low commitment scores and strength of self-concept, both partial tables are very similar to the original table. We must, therefore, conclude that any interaction that takes place is very slight indeed, and is probably attributable to the fact that students with strong self-concepts as rock fans are more likely to have low grades than high grades. Finally, when we looked at the junior and senior high school constituencies separately, the modest inverse relationship remains intact. We can conclude that age does not affect the relationship between commitment and self-concept as a rock fan.

Summary of Findings

The results presented here provide support for our basic hypothesis - that a general commitment to school is inversely associated with involvement in the pop media, using size of record collection and self-concept as a rock fan as indicators of such involvement. However, it is important to point our that the inverse relationship linking commitment and size of record collection exists only among senior high school students. Therefore, although our basic hypothesis is supported there are significant differences between the junior and senior high school constituencies which tend to be concealed if the effects of age are not considered.

Our third indicator of involvement in the pop media - the number of records bought within the last three months - did not, in its basic

form, provide support for our hypothesis. However, we found that the relationship between pop media involvement, as measured by all three indicators is affected by sex and social class. Because the main thrust of this thesis is concerned with the argument that these two variables differentially affect involvement in 'youth culture', we will discuss these findings more fully a little further on.

We also found that our three indicators of in-school academic performance affected the relationship between pop media involvement and school commitment. The relationship between size of record collection and commitment varied by all three indicators; the relationship between self-concept as a rock fan and commitment varied by official grade, but not the two self-reported performance items. Finally, the relationship between records bought within the last three months and commitment to school varied by self-perceived academic ability, and official grades, but not by self-reported grades.

However, with reference to two of our pop media indicators - size of record collection and the number of records bought within the last three months - the inverse relationship with school commitment was stronger for students with a positive perception of their school ability than it was for students with a negative perception. Similarly, students who reported high grades were more likely than students who reported low grades to be involved in the inverse relationship between the number of records bought within the last three months and school commitment.

Therefore, although the relationship between these two pop indicators and commitment did vary by self-reported school performance, it was in the direction opposite to that which had been expected. The question is, of course, how do we account for this unexpected pattern.

Discussion

By comparing both respondents self-reported perceived ability ratings and their self-reported grades with their actual grades, we were able to conclude that, although overall students who reported high grades and high ability did in fact achieve high grades, among students with a low commitment to school, there was a greater discrepancy between reported performance and actual performance. In other words, students with a low commitment to school had a greater propensity for 'misrepresenting' their school performance.

We can therefore, tentatively explain the stronger inverse relationship between these pop indicators and commitment among students who report doing well in school by suggesting that students with low school commitment are more likely than students with a high commitment to exaggerate the quality of their school performance.

Commitment to School and Involvement in the Pop Media: The Impact of Income

We now wish to return to our argument concerning the relationship between commitment to school and the buying of rock records, a behaviour

at the core of our idea of pop media culture involvement. There is a possibility that simple economics (i.e. some students have more money than others to spend on rock records) might be governing this relationship. Fortunately, the original questionnaire contained two items directed towards ascertaining how much money each respondent had available to him or her.

Basically, adolescents have two sources of income, namely pocket-money and earnings from part-time employment. Consequently, two items on our questionnaire asked respondents how much pocket-money they received, and if they had a part-time job, how much money they earned from it. These two items were used to construct a composite indicator of adolescent income. Respondents were classified as falling into one of two categories: those who had an average weekly income of $5.00 or less were categorized as having small incomes, those who had incomes of $6.00 or more were categorized as having large weekly incomes. Because it is easier for boys than girls to secure well paid part-time employment, we might have expected the size of average weekly income to vary by sex. However, this did not turn out to be the case. Nevertheless, it is important to point out that pocket money and earnings from part-time employment as different sources of adolescent income,do not represent equal amounts of adolescent spending power. On average, the weekly amount of pocket money received was $2.90 for junior high school students and $3.60 for senior high school students. However, 67.7% (277) of

junior high school students held part-time jobs which, on average, brought them a weekly income of $7.90. Of the senior high school students, 64.9% had part-time employment which brought them an average weekly income of $20.30. As can be seen, students who largely accrue their weekly income from part-time jobs are in a considerably stronger economic position than their peers, who have to rely upon pocket money; this is particularly true for senior high school students. Given the fairly prohibitive price of rock records (at the time of writing, an album may cost anywhere between just under $4 and up to $7), the holding of a well paid part-time job becomes a crucial pre-requisite for adolescent pop media consumerism. Not suprisingly, perhaps, we found that those students who have large weekly incomes are more likely than those who have small incomes to have both large record collections and to have bought a large number of records within the last three months. However, we did not find that income had a correspondingly significant impact upon the relationship between commitment to school and pop media consumption. Table 28 illustrates what happens to the relationship between school commitment and size of record collection when size of income is controlled.

Table 28

Size of Record Collection by a General Commitment to School by Size of Income

SMALL INCOME

SIZE OF RECORD COLLECTION	GENERAL COMMITMENT TO SCHOOL: LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
SMALL	36 (28)	38 (36)	46 (66)
MEDIUM	33 (26)	36 (34)	31 (45)
LARGE	31 (24)	26 (24)	23 (34)
TOTAL	(78)	(94)	(145)

GAMMA = - 0.12 P = N/S

LARGE INCOME

	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
SMALL	19 (19)	29 (31)	31 (34)
MEDIUM	38 (39)	29 (31)	36 (39)
LARGE	43 (44)	43 (46)	33 (36)
TOTAL	(102)	(108)	(109)

GAMMA = - 0.15 P = N/S

The indication is that the modest inverse relationship between size of record collection and commitment to school is only slightly stronger for students with large incomes than it is for students with small incomes, suggesting perhaps that size of income is not a very crucial factor affecting this relationship.

Such suspicions are reinforced when we examined the effect that income size has on the relationship between school commitment and the number of records respondents had bought in the last three months: irrespective of whether respondents had large or small weekly incomes, no relationship exists between school commitment and recently bought records. Since we originally failed to find a relationship between these two variables (Table 19), we can tentatively conclude that income size has no significant effect upon the relationship.

Furthermore, we have already seen (Table 12 and 20) that the inverse relationship between school commitment and record buying is stronger for boys than it is for girls. When we examined the relationship between commitment to school and involvement in the pop media simultaneously controlling for sex and income size, we again found that is it sex, rather than income, that is influencing this relationship. Table 29 indicates that whereas a clear inverse relationship exists between commitment to school and size of record collection among the boys, more or less independently of income size, no such inverse relationship exists among the girls - even among those who receive large weekly incomes. That is to say, despite having the necessary financial resources, girls with a low commitment to school are no more likely to have large record collections than girls with a high commitment.

Table 29

Size of Record Collection by a General Commitment to School by Sex and Size of Income

MALE SMALL INCOME

SIZE OF RECORD COLLECTION	GENERAL COMMITMENT TO SCHOOL		
	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
SMALL	37 (18)	45 (23)	55 (42)
MEDIUM	35 (17)	35 (18)	27 (21)
LARGE	29 (14)	20 (10)	18 (14)
TOTAL	(49)	(51)	(77)

GAMMA = - 0.21 P = N/S

FEMALE SMALL INCOME

	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
SMALL	35 (10)	30 (13)	35 (24)
MEDIUM	31 (9)	37 (16)	35 (24)
LARGE	35 (10)	33 (14)	29 (20)
TOTAL	(29)	(43)	(68)

GAMMA = - 0.5 P = N/S

MALE LARGE INCOME

	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
SMALL	14 (18)	36 (21)	40 (22)
MEDIUM	45 (26)	21 (12)	31 (17)
LARGE	41 (24)	43 (25)	29 (16)
TOTAL	(68)	(58)	(55)

GAMMA = - 0.24 P = N/S

Table 29 (cont)

FEMALE LARGE INCOME

		GENERAL COMMITMENT TO SCHOOL		
		LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
SIZE OF RECORD COLLECTION	SMALL	25 (11)	20 (10)	22 (12)
	MEDIUM	30 (13)	38 (19)	41 (22)
	LARGE	46 (20)	42 (21)	37 (20)
	TOTAL	(44)	(50)	(54)
	GAMMA = - 0.05		P = N/S	

Although the pattern depicted in Table 30 is far from clear, the indication once again, is that the relationship between commitment to school and the number of records bought within the last three months is not affected by how much money adolescents have at their disposal.

Table 30

The Number of Records Bought within the Last Three Months by a General Commitment to School by Sex and Size of Income

MALE SMALL INCOME

		GENERAL COMMITMENT TO SCHOOL		
		LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
THE NUMBER OF RECORDS BOUGHT WITHIN THE LAST THREE MONTHS	LOW	52 (26)	55 (29)	59 (49)
	MEDIUM	26 (13)	30 (16)	29 (24)
	LARGE	22 (11)	15 (8)	12 (10)
	TOTAL	(50)	(53)	(83)
	GAMMA = - 0.12		P = N/S	

Table 30 (cont)

FEMALE SMALL INCOME

		GENERAL COMMITMENT TO SCHOOL		
		LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
THE NUMBER OF RECORDS BOUGHT WITHIN THE LAST THREE MONTHS	LOW	42 (13)	41 (20)	43 (32)
	MEDIUM	39 (12)	41 (20)	34 (25)
	LARGE	19 (6)	18 (9)	23 (17)
	TOTAL	(31)	(49)	(74)

GAMMA = 0.01 P = N/S

MALE LARGE INCOME

	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
LOW	22 (13)	37 (22)	38 (21)
MEDIUM	36 (21)	29 (17)	25 (14)
LARGE	41 (24)	34 (20)	38 (21)
TOTAL	(58)	(59)	(56)

GAMMA = - 0.12 P = N/S

FEMALE LARGE INCOME

	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
LOW	33 (16)	36 (20)	23 (13)
MEDIUM	25 (12)	46 (25)	46 (26)
LARGE	42 (20)	18 (10)	30 (17)
TOTAL	(48)	(55)	(56)

GAMMA = .01 P = $<.05$

Our tentative conclusion is, therefore, that income is less instrumental in shaping the relationship between commitment to school and involvement in the pop media than we might have expected. Furthermore, the relative lack of involvement in 'pop culture' by female school rejectors cannot be attributed to economic restrictions: we shall suggest, and support, an alternative explanation in the next chapter.

Commitment to School and 'Premature Adulthood'

We have just outlined how we had initially expected income size to be an important factor affecting the relationship between school commitment and involvement in the pop media. Accordingly, we had assumed the significance of part-time employment for adolescents to rest upon its role as an important source of income. However, the holding of a well-paid part-time job may have another and more significant meaning for some high school students. We will now suggest it is as a source of adult status, rather than spending power, that part-time employment is important for some adolescents.

Turner (1964), Stinchcombe (1964) and Hirschi (1969), among others, have pointed out that many of the behavioural and symbolic attributes of a so-called 'youth culture' - the automobile, the cigarette, and the bottle of beer - could more correctly be interpreted as the insignia of "premature adulthood". Because these activities and symbols are adopted by school-age adolescents, frequently in the context of the school, their true meaning is concealed. As Polk and Halferty point out:

> "it is only too easy to assume that because adolescents engage in a particular pattern of behavior, the behavior is distinctively adolescent" (1972: 81)

Table 31 indicates that the liklihood of adolescents holding a lucrative part-time job is a function of a low commitment to school.

Table 31

Income from Part-Time Job by a General Commitment to School

		GENERAL COMMITMENT TO SCHOOL		
		LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
SIZE OF INCOME FROM PART-TIME JOBS	SMALL	58 (101)	68 (143)	79 (201)
	LARGE	42 (74)	32 (67)	21 (53)
	TOTAL	(175)	(210)	(254)
	GAMMA = - 0.33		P = <.01	

We would argue that the taking on of a well paid part-time job is central to this notion of 'premature adulthood'. Although many high school students take part-time jobs, the type of job held by the school rejector is qualitatively different from typical 'teenage' (i.e. age-specific) jobs, such as baby-sitting, mowing the lawn, etc. School rejectors are far more likely to engage in the type of work associated with unskilled manual labour, which carries a different set of ramifications for a school career than the occasional baby-sitting for pocket money. Being a high school student involves economic dependency upon parents, and subservience to school authority. Part-time employment partially overcomes the handicap of lack of spending power, and makes school appear less 'relevant' to s students' future

job prospects; thereby loosening the hold that school has on the student.

Commitment to School, Involvement in Youth Cultures, and Future Life-Chances

In the previous section we suggested that the significance of a well paid job lies in its affirmation of adult status rather than as a factor affecting the relationship between school commitment and adolescent pop media consumptions. We will now explore the connection that exists between school commitment, involvement in youth culture, and adolescent orientations towards the future.

An item on the questionnaire asked respondents "what job do you expect to have after you finish your education". On the basis of their replies, respondents' job expectations were categorized as - middle-class occupations, skilled working-class occupations, or unskilled working-class occupations.

We know, from Table 32, that students with a low commitment to school are less likely than students with a high commitment to expect a middle-class occupation when they complete their schooling. (58% to 84%).

Table 32

Expected Job by a General Commitment to School

	GENERAL COMMITMENT TO SCHOOL		
	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
MIDDLE-CLASS	58 (80)	73 (116)	84 (184)
SKILLED WORKING-CLASS	24 (33)	15 (24)	8 (17)
UNSKILLED WORKING-CLASS	18 (24)	11 (18)	8 (18)
TOTAL	(137)	(158)	(219)
GAMMA = -0.38	P = <.01		

This pattern did not vary by social class background. That is to say, school rejecting middle-class students were no less likely to anticipate a working-class future than their counterparts from working-class backgrounds.

Furthermore, in contrast to those students who anticipated working-class occupations, there was no relationship between commitment to school and involvement in delinquency or record buying among students who expected middle-class occupations when they finished their educations.

An interpretation we might place on this finding is that students who expect middle-class futures are not prepared to jeapordize their future life chances by involving themselves in delinquency and 'pop'. Such an interpretation, however,has to be tempered by the fact that

future job expectations did not affect the inverse relationship between commitment and one indication of pop media involvement, namely self-concept as a rock fan. Nevertheless, unless it translates into other, more central facets of 'pop' culture - such as record buying - merely holding a strong identity as a rock fan is not going to place future life-chances at risk. We can conclude this section by speculating that, by and large, both delinquent and pop-based 'youth cultures' appear to be particularly attractive to those low commitment high school students who anticipate working-class futures.

Finally, the indication that a number of the middle-class students involved in these two central patterns of 'youth culture' are likely to be downwardly mobile is reinforced by another finding which inidicates that middle-class adolescents with a low school commitment achieved no better 'official' grades than their working-class counterparts. Involvement in 'youth culture', therefore seems to contain a similar set of ramifications for the future for both middle-class and working-class school rejectors.

CHAPTER IV

'YOUTH CULTURE' AND THE HIGH SCHOOL: A RE-EXAMINATION

(1) The Thesis of Differential Involvement in Youth Culture

With regard to the basic theme of this thesis, it is the contention of Murdock and Phelps that the "crucial defiency of previous research" centres upon the fact that elements from both 'street culture' and 'pop media' culture have been combined to form an artificially homogenous set of oppositional activities, roles and symbols which are collectively referred to as 'youth culture'. Furthermore, the basic argument surrounding the relationship between 'youth culture' and the school is that among different categories of school rejectors, 'street culture' and 'pop media culture' represent mutually exclusive 'youth cultural' adaptions. More precisely, working-class adolescents, particularly boys, who have a low commitment to school will tend to be highly involved in 'street culture', but uninvolved with 'pop media culture'. On the other hand, middle-class adolescents, particularly girls, who have a low commitment to school will be highly involved in 'pop media culture' and uninvolved in 'street culture'.

However, although the following conclusions are based on small cell sizes, the indication is that our Canadian findings only very marginally support this argument. In terms of delinquency - our approximation of 'street culture', - working-class boys, particularly those from unskilled working-class backgrounds, with a low commitment to school are most

likely to be involved in delinquent leisure-time activities. However, middle-class male school rejectors are only slightly less likely to be similarly involved. These findings are quite similar to those of a study undertaken among boys within two senior high schools in the city of Edmonton ten years ago. George Kupfer (1966) found that self-reported delinquency was positively related to a number of factors, such as dislike of schools and teachers, which correspond quite closely to our notion of commitment to school. Moreover, he found that this relationship between delinquency and school-related attitudes and behaviours existed more or less independently of social class background.

With regard to the girls, we found that although their propensity for delinquent leisure activities is not as strong as it is for the three groups of boys, female working-class school rejectors, particularly those from unskilled working-class backgrounds, are still fairly likely to be delinquent. It is only among middle-class girls that delinquency is not associated with low school commitment.

Although we are aware of the dangers of making causal statements from survey data which makes neither comparisons over time nor adequately compares different groups of students at different stages in their school careers, it is our contention that negative commitment precedes involvement in 'youth culture' in the temporal sequence linking these two variables. Accordingly, we would argue that, although delinquency remains the classic response for those students most fundamentally exposed to 'adjustment problems' within school, namely unskilled working-

class boys, the existence of a 'street corner' culture rooted in the working-class community does not neutralize these boys from the impact of the 'pop media'.

The pop media is in fact particularly likely to attract both unskilled working-class boys and middle-class boys with a low commitment to school. Among the middle-class boys with a low commitment to school, the ownership of a large collection of rock records and the frequent buying of rock records also translates in to a strong self-image as a rock fan. However, although more likely to have large record collections than their middle-class counterparts, boys from unskilled working-class homes do not see themselves as rock fans, suggesting perhaps that, despite their consumption of rock music, the pop media is not as important a source of oppositional images as the more traditional roles and activities found in the working-class community. Among boys from skilled working-class backgrounds, a low commitment to school does not appear to be associated with any significant involvement in the pop media ,and of the three categories of male school rejectors, they are the least likely to be thus involved.

Although not as heavily involved with the pop media as either middle-class or unskilled working-class boys, girls from skilled working-class backgrounds with low commitment to school do tend to be significantly involved in the pop media. Girls from unskilled working-class backgrounds, on the other hand, are the category of school dis-

affiliates least likely to be involved in the pop media. In fact, with respect to each of the indicators of pop media involvement, unskilled working-class girls with a low commitment to school display no concomitant orientation towards the pop media.

The category of school rejectors we had expected to be most heavily involved in the pop media were middle-class girls. However, we found that although they had relatively strong self-images as a rock fan, they tended not to buy records, a behaviour central to our understanding of involvement in pop culture. A possible explanation for this is discussed below.

Our results suggest that, on the whole, sex rather than social class is the most important determinant of involvement in both varieties of 'youth culture'.

School-rejecting boys are more involved in delinquency than girls, and are more likely to buy rock records than girls. With the partial exception of their strong self-indentification as rock fans, girls with a low commitment to school do not tend to involve themselves with the pop media. Even skilled working-class girls, who tend to hold strong identities as rock fans, do not translate this identity into record buying. Girls from unskilled working-class backgrounds are the category of school disaffiliates least likely to be involved in the pop media, followed by middle-class girls. With respect to each of our indicators of pop media involvement, unskilled working-class girls with a low commitment

to school display no concomitant orientation towards the pop media. Finally, middle-class and unskilled working-class boys are the categories of school rejector most likely to be involved with both pop and delinquent based youth contra culture, while middle-class girls have relatively little involvement in either of these out-of-school activities.

Although our findings do not appear to provide very much support for the thesis of differential involvement in out-of-school 'youth cultures' we need to return to that discussion, take it one step further, and try to come to terms with the question of the extent to which involvement in one pattern of out-of-school leisure activity precludes involvement in the other.

Given our original hypothesis that male school rejectors are more likely to be involved in delinquency than pop, we would expect boys with a low commitment to school to be more heavily involved in delinquency and low on pop than to be high on pop and low on delinquency. Conversely, we would expect female school rejectors to be more highly involved in pop and low on delinquency than to be high on delinquency and low on pop. Although the exceedingly small numbers preclude us from drawing anything but the most tentative of conclusions, Table 33 does provide some evidence in support of this propostion.

Table 33

Involvment in Delinquency and the Pop Media Among Students with a Low Commitment to School by Sex

SIZE OF RECORD COLLECTION	LARGE/LOW DELINQUENCY	= 32% (8)	MALE
		= 68% (17)	FEMALE
	SMALL/HIGH DELINQUENCY	= 69% (11)	MALE
		= 31% (5)	FEMALE
NUMBER OF RECORDS BOUGHT WITHIN THE LAST THREE MONTHS	LARGE/LOW DELINQUENCY	= 46% (11)	MALE
		= 54% (13)	FEMALE
	SMALL/HIGH DELINQUENCY	= 76% (19)	MALE
		= 24% (6)	FEMALE
SELF CONCEPT AS A ROCK FAN	HIGH/LOW DELINQUENCY	= 38% (9)	MALE
		= 62% (15)	FEMALE
	LOW/HIGH DELINQUENCY	= 81% (13)	MALE
		= 19% (3)	FEMALE

In a similar vein, we would also expect that among middle-class students with a low commitment to school there would be a greater tendency for a high involvement in pop and a low involvement in delinquency than for a high involvement in delinquency and a low involvement in pop. Conversely, among working-class school rejectors we would expect a greater liklihood of high involvement in delinquency and low involvement in pop than high involvement in pop and low involvement in delinquency. Table 34 provides evidence of support for this proposition, though

once again the numbers are very small. Finally, although the numbers are too small to justify presenting in table form, the indication is that this pattern of class differences exists for both boys and girls.

Table 34

Involvement in Delinquency and the Pop Media Among Students with a Low Commitment to School by Social Class

SIZE OF RECORD COLLECTION	LARGE/LOW DELINQUENCY	= 58% (11)	MIDDLE-CLASS
		= 42% (8)	WORKING-CLASS
	SMALL/HIGH DELINQUENCY	= 39% (5)	MIDDLE-CLASS
		= 61% (8)	WORKING-CLASS
NUMBER OF RECORDS BOUGHT WITHIN THE LAST THREE MONTHS	LARGE/LOW DELINQUNECY	= 66% (12)	MIDDLE-CLASS
		= 34% (8)	WORKING-CLASS
	SMALL/HIGH DELINQUENCY	= 24% (6)	MIDDLE-CLASS
		= 76% (15)	WORKING-CLASS
SELF CONCEPT AS A ROCK FAN	LARGE/LOW DELINQUENCY	= 50% (9)	MIDDLE-CLASS
		= 50% (9)	WORKING-CLASS
	SMALL/HIGH DELINQUENCY	= 38% (5)	MIDDLE-CLASS
		= 62% (8)	WORKING-CLASS

Discussion

Although we have done little more than scratch the surface of the problem of the relationship between 'delinquency' and 'pop' among students with a low commitment to school, there does seem some indication that both sex and social class generate differential orientations towards 'delinquent culture' and 'pop media culture.' However, such a conclusion must remain highly speculative, bearing in mind the small numbers involved.

Tentatively, we might suggest that a pop based 'youth culture' is more attractive than delinquency for girls and middle-class students who have little commitment to school because it represents a more acceptable form of 'revolt'.

It might be that involvement in the pop media represents a compromise solution to a fundamental bind that some middle-class school rejectors find themselves caught in: on one hand, they do not like school and are not willing to go along with the 'good student' role that school and parents demand; on the other hand, their middle-class status, no doubt reinforced by parental surveillance, precludes delinquescent behaviour as a means of expressing their dislike of school. The pop media, however, provides an escape from school culture but does not place a students' middle-class status at risk.

We are arguing, therefore, that some middle-class school disaffiliates use the pop media not only because they lack access to a

'street culture' but because it provides a vehicle for 'token' revolt. Involvement in the pop media, in terms of buying records and the identity as a rock fan, provides a form of mild protest against school, but does not carry the same set of ramifications - court appearances, parental disapproval, stigmatisation etc. - that delinquency does. Thus the pop media affords some middle-class adolescents the opportunity to go through the motions of playing an anti-school role without exposure to the possible consequences of a delinquent 'solution'.

It is very important, however, not to take this argument too far. As we have already seen, middle-class boys and unskilled working-class girls with a low commitment to school are in fact quite likely to be delinquent and are thus clearly not immune from delinquent leisure activities. Nevertheless, 'pop' culture appears to be preferred to delinquency among middle-class students and girls, and the argument outlined above would provide a speculative explanation for why this might be.

Even so, our conclusion must be that 'delinquency' and 'pop' do not represent mutually exclusive leisure patterns, and we must now attempt to provide an explanation for this.

Given the class structure of Edmonton, it is perhaps not particularly suprising that we found that social class played such an insignificant role in patterning involvement in the pop media among students with a low school commitment. The British working-class communities

from which Murdock and Phelps selected some of the schools in their sample, are old and well-established, and have evolved out of specific social and economic circumstances. Shaped by such experiences as unemployment, industrial struggle and the associated economic and social uncertainties, a distinctive working-class culture has emerged. This is the context in which a youthful working-class 'street culture' exists, owing far more to traditional working-class patterns and practices than to a contemporary pop culture.

However, working-class communities are new (predominantly post-war) and compared to their British counterparts, relatively affluent. In addition, the belief in upward mobility for all is an important ideological buttress of North American society, and functions to blur subjective definitions of social class. Therefore, given the fact that sharply drawn class lines do not exist in Edmonton, traditional working-class values and patterns are largely absent. Our argument is that, given the absence of a traditional working-class culture, transmitted from generation to generation, working-class boys in Edmonton are not as insulated as their British counterparts from a commercially-based 'pop' culture.

The crux of our argument is that the Murdock and Phelps thesis - that the working-class community provides the important source of anti-school roles and values for working-class boys, whereas the pop media furnishes an anti-school cultural milieux for middle-class students -

is inappropriate for Edmonton. The delinquent leisure-time activities of unskilled working-class boys do not preclude them from involvement in the pop media. Conversely, although not as heavily involved in delinquency as unskilled and skilled working-class boys, boys from middle-class homes are far from being immune to delinquency, and are heavy consumers of rock music. Our conclusion is that both delinquency and rock music provide the core of out-of-school 'youth culture'for boys, and that involvement in one certainly does not preclude involvement in the other. Such a conclusion is consistent with the findings of Kupfer's study. He found a positive relationship between self-reported delinquency and involvement in'teenage culture', as measured by such activities as television viewing habits, movie attendance, the pattern of radio listening, and the buying of records and magazines.

(II) Commitment to School and Female Involvement in Pop Media Culture: A Speculative Analysis

We now have to account for the non-emergence of the expected inverse relationship between school commitment and record-buying among girls.

We know that boys and girls buy a roughly equal number of records. The indication is, therefore, that independently of their commitment to school, girls are as equally involved in a pop-based youth culture as boys. We will now argue that girls, in fact, are more involved in

pop culture' than boys, as the previous studies of Coleman, Brown and O'Leary (1971) and Murdock and Phelps have indicated, and that the failure in the present research to find the expected inverse relationship between school commitment and 'pop' among the girls may be attributable to the nature of our indicators of involvement in the pop media.

Our indicators of pop media involvement are somewhat uni-dimensional, in the sense that they concentrate upon the consumption of rock music. However, although music is at the core of the concept of 'pop media culture, it is by no means its only component. 'Trendy' clothes, glossy magazines, movies, some TV programmes, all contain elements of a pop 'style'. Furthermore, in terms of the marketing of a pop-based 'youth culture', it is girls rather than boys who are the prinicipal target of those most concerned with the spending power of adolescents. Therefore, given a situation whereby a girl is confronted with an array of options in terms of pop media activities, it might be that a decision to buy fashionable clothing or go dancing must invariably be at the expense of other activities, such as record buying.

Such a possibility is made the more likely given the different patterns of socialization that boys and girls receive. Girls initially in the home and later at school, are taught that a central part of 'femininity' involves being sexually attractive. Reinforced by the mass media, girls are encouraged to enhance their prospects in the sexual

market-place by devoting their spending power to such items as clothes, cosmetics, beauty preparations etc. Therefore, we may arrive at a paradoxical situation whereby despite a greater overall involvement in a number of different aspects of 'pop culture', girls do not buy a significantly greater number of rock records than the boys. It is quite possible, therefore, that given the uni-dimensional nature of our pop media indicators, we are not fully exploring the nature and extent of female involvement in 'pop media culture'.

Some support for this proposition is provided when we look at one possible indicator of pop media involvement that we did not use. An item on our questionnaire asked respondents to name as many of the songs currently being played on their favourite radio station as they could remember. This item, which provided Murdock and Phelps with their basic indicator of pop media involvement, was originally designed to fulfill a similar function in our study, and was based on the assumption that a knowledge of the current 'top 40' playlist pre-supposed a degree of involvement in pop media culture. However, as was pointed out in Chapter 2, this potential indicator was not utilized in the study because it did not correlate very highly with our three other indicators of pop media involvement. Nevertheless, it does provide a broad indication of how diligently respondents listened to 'rock radio' (in the context of this study, primarily the radio station CHED). Based on the number of songs correctly remembered, respondents were placed in

one of three categories, high, medium or low. From this item we were able to ascertain that girls were more likely than boys to correctly identify songs on the current playlist (Table 35).

Table 35

Knowledge of Songs on The Current 'Top 40' Playlist by Sex

		MALE	FEMALE
KNOWLEDGE OF SONGS	HIGH	13 (36)	28 (78)
	MEDIUM	37 (105)	39 (108)
	LOW	51 (144)	32 (89)
	TOTAL	(285)	(275)

In terms of listening to rock radio, therefore, girls are clearly more involved in the pop media than boys.

Our admittedly speculative conclusion is that our indicators of pop media involvement fail to adequately tap the nature and extent of female involvement in the pop media. Consequently, it is quite possible that our measures are failing to probe an important aspect of pop culture, the involvement in which is likely to attract school-rejecting girls. We can speculate that insofar as girls are concerned, the buying of fashionable clothes and the frequenting of local boutiques represents another dimension of involvement in the pop media. It is these activities, along with listening to rock music rather than buying rock records which may provide the context in which girls primarily

activate their interest in a pop culture. Certainly any visit to the numerous shopping malls in Edmonton on a Friday evening or Saturday will provide evidence of the popularity that such boutiques as "Dalmy's" "Sweet Sixteen" etc. seem to hold for high school age girls. Furthermore, the style of these boutiques is very firmly based on pop music: recorded pop is constantly used as a background to the stores' commercial function. In short, pop music is fused with the world of fashion and for girls such a fusion means that involvement in a pop-based 'youth culture' takes on a slightly different form than it does for boys: speculatively, for we have no evidence for such a conclusion, school-rejecting girls are more likely to buy clothes than they are to buy rock records.

Our argument so far has been that the design of our measures of pop media involvement do not take adequate account of the nature of female involvement in a pop based 'youth culture'. However, there may be a second problem associated with our indicators.

The crucial premise on which our hypothesized inverse relationship between school commitment and involvement in the pop media is based is that various values, symbols and modes of expression associated with the pop media represent a leisure milieux counter-poised to the formal organsation of the school. In other words, we are arguing that there is something about the content of pop music - either the sound or the lyrics of the songs - which makes it a potential vehicle by which school-rejec-

ting adolescents can express their disengagement from formal school culture.

Since the initial emergence of rock'n'roll in the mid-1950s, rock music, and its audience, has become increasingly differentiated: many diverse styles of rock music are now available to adolescents, not all of which can be said to contain a rebellious style or content. Accordingly, it is possible that our indicators of pop media involvement are insufficiently sensitive to the fact that pop music does not represent a single, cultural universe: different groups of adolescents have different tastes in rock music which might well be reflective of different kinds of involvement in, or orientations towards, pop culture. Consequently, the employment of single, general indicators will tend to treat adolescent orientations towards the pop media in a rather simplistic manner.

With regard to the question of the adequacy of our measures of pop media involvement, it, therefore, may well be that our indicators of such involvement overlook or conceal the fact that boys and girls have different kinds of involvement in pop culture. Fortunately, an item on the questionnaire enables us to test this possibility. Respondents were asked to write down the name of their favourite singer or band. The responses were then coded (by the author), according to a categorization similar to that previously employed by Robinson and Hirsch (1972) in the United States and Murdock and Phelps in Great Britain.

The basic distinction, in terms of preference for pop music,

lies between the 'formula' rock of the 'top 40' and the varieties of rock music which might be termed 'underground'. This latter category was further subdivided into 'progressive' and heavy metal' categories.

'Top 40', in the context of this study, refers primarily to the basic fare provided by the radio station "CHED". Artists currently representative of this genre include Elton John, Donny Osmond and Paper Lace. Also included in this category were performers such as Perry Como, Tom Jones, and Paul Anka, artists who cater less exclusively to a teenage sudience. Because of the conceptual similarity between these "middle of the road" artists and their 'top 40' counterparts, it was decided to include them in the same category.

The 'progressive' category is very eclectic and refers to a wide range of musical styles. The 'progressives'are seen by both the artists themselves and their audiences as being marked by (a) a rejection of 'top 40' format rock and (b) their concern with musical innovation. Consequently, the 'progressive' category embraces a wide range of diverse musical styles and forms - from the fusions of rock and classical (e.g. Procul Harum), the electronic innovators (e.g. Pink Floyd) and, simply, the very strange (David Bowie, Lou Reed). Also included in this category are the singer-songwriters (Bob Dylan, Joni Mitchell) whose impact is largely based on the lyrical content of their songs, and the various forms of 'black' music (e.g. the 'blues' of B.B. King, the 'soul' of Ike and Tina Turner). But for the small numbers in-

volved (in terms of selection as favourites by the respondents), both singer-songwriters and the black-performers would have been assigned to a separate category.

Another important category is provided by the 'heavy metal' bands. The 'heavy metal' or 'heavy rock'-bands are those bands whose musical style is loosely based on a 'rhythm and blues' format. As a musical form, rhythm and blues originated in urban black communities in the United States. It later became an important component of rock 'n' roll, itself the means of cultural expression of white urban, working-class adolescents. However, as played by predominantly white musicians, most 'heavy rock' has now lost any links it might once have had with black 'rhythmn and blues'. Murdock and Phelps include the 'heavy' rock musicians and 'progressives' in the same category - 'underground'. However, while it is true that, for the most part, the heavy metal bands are not found on the 'top 40' charts, there are significant differences between 'heavy'and 'progressive' rock. 'Heavy' rock is built around a formula of simple, repetitive guitar riffs and loud amplification. As such, it provides a sufficiently discernable genre which does not justify being placed in the more eclectic and innovative 'progressive' category. Good examples of the 'heavy metal' style are provided by Led Zeppelin, Deep Purple, and Grand Funk Railroad. Finally, we included a miscellaneous category for the fans of the Alberta All Girl Drum and Bugle Band, Her Majesty's Royal Marine Guards' Band and Beethoven. Also included in this category were movie soundtracks, country and western,

and jazz performers.

It was not always easy to decide whether a certain artist merited a place in the 'top 40' category or in either of the two 'underground' categories. For example, only a couple of years ago, Carole King would have been regarded as a singer-songwriter worthy of a 'progressive' categorization. However, a recurring phenomena in the world of pop is the example of yesterday's innovator being co-opted into the formula rock of the 'top 40' mainstream. Carole King provides a good example of this point.

A related problem is the 'progressive' performer who gets a 'freak' hit single (e.g. Eric Clapton with "I Shot the Sheriff"). The prime raison d'être of a classification of this sort is to provide a framework whereby it becomes possible to distinguish between those students who are primarily involved with 'mainstream rock' and those who are attracted to musical forms which lie outside this mainstream. Problems are therefore created - as in the case of Eric Clapton - because we have no real way of knowing whether a respondent who claims Eric Clapton as his favourite performer is doing so solely on the basis of his hit single.

However, despite these problems we feel that such a classificatory framework provides a reasonably accurate reflection of the various forms of rock music currently available to adolescents

In terms of the argument presented above, we feel that table 36 provides some support for our contention that the nature of involvement in the pop media varies by sex.

Table 36

Favourite Type of Record by Sex

		MALE	FEMALE
FAVOURITE RECORD	TOP 40	55 (148)	73 (212)
	PROGRESSIVE	13 (36)	8 (23)
	HEAVY	23 (63)	13 (37)
	MISCELLANEOUS	9 (23)	6 (17)
	TOTAL	(270)	(289)
	GAMMA = - 0.33	P = $<$.01	

The first point that needs to be made is that the majority of both boys and girls favour 'top 40' rock. However, we also find the girls are more likely than boys (73% to 55%) to favour 'top 40' rock, while boys are more likely to favour the music of the 'heavy metal' bands than the girls (23% to 13%). Thus despite (we would argue) girls' greater all round involvement in pop culture, their preferences in rock music indicates that they are more likely than boys to favour the 'format' pop of the 'top 40'. Our interpretation would be that for girls the pop media represents a legitimate sphere of leisure activity, consistent with adult (and school) values and standards. Nearly fifteen years ago, James Coleman made a similar observation. Commenting

on the fact that the girls in his sample were significantly more likely than the boys to favour Pat Boone over Elvis Presley, then a genuine symbol of 'teenage revolt' , Coleman concluded that . . . "these choices reflect a somewhat greater tendency of girls to conform to adult values" (1961: 22-23). Our findings would suggest that, fifteen years later, the same pattern still exists.

Summary and Conclusions

Our explanation for the failure of the expected inverse relationship between school commitment and involvement in pop media culture to emerge among the girls rests upon the inadequacies of our indicators of pop media culture. More precisely, our argument is that our indicators of such involvement tend to conceal important differences, by sex, in orientation towards the pop media. In the next section we will elaborate on the following crucial theme, implicit in the findings discussed above, namely that it is not the pop media per se which furnishes an oppositional milieux to the school, but more accurately, it is particular types of rock music which fulfill this function.

High School Students and Pop Music

The previous research of Robinson and Hirsch, Murdock and Phelps, and Murdock and McCron (1973), indicates that the adolescent audience for rock music, far from being indiscriminatory and homogenous (as is

sometimes suggested) is, in fact, highly differentiated along social class and ethnic lines. Furthermore, Murdock and Phelps' research suggests that the type of rock music an adolescent prefers is associated with his orientation toward school.

We have already seen that there appears to be a relationship between preferences in rock music and sex: that boys are more likely than girls to nominate 'heavy' rock as their favourite, while girls are more likely than boys to nominate a 'top 40' record. On the basis of previous research, we had expected that social class might also shape the rock music preferences of the adolescents in our sample. However, this did not turn out to be the case.

When we explored the relationship between commitment to school and preferences in rock music, we found a slight, though not significant association (Table 37): students with a high commitment to school were more likely than those with a low commitment to nominate a 'top 40' record (67% to 60%), while students with a low commitment were slightly more likely to nominate a 'heavy' rock record than those with a high school commitment (23% to 14%). Sex did not significantly alter this relationship, suggesting, perhaps that school rejecting females share a similar kind of orientation towards the pop media as school rejecting boys.

Table 37

Favourite Type of Record by a General Commitment to School

		GENERAL COMMITMENT TO SCHOOL		
		LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
FAVOURITE RECORD	TOP 40	60 (88)	65 (116)	67 (147)
	PROGRESSIVE	10 (15)	10 (18)	11 (24)
	HEAVY	23 (34)	18 (32)	14 (30)
	MISCELLANEOUS	7 (11)	6 (10)	9 (19)
	TOTAL	(148)	(176)	(220)
	GAMMA = - 0.09	P = N/S		

Because social class might be affecting the relationship between school commitment and type of favoured rock music, we next looked at the triangular relationship between commitment to school, preferences in rock music and social class, treating the latter as a control variable. We should point that for the purposes of the following analysis the two working-class categories have been collapsed into one, thus presenting a dichotomised social class categorization - middle-class/ working-class. A subsumation of the two strata of working-class respondents under one category does not, on this occasion, conceal major taste differences for rock music within the working-class constituency. Table 38 presents the relationship between preferences for types of rock music and commitment to school controlling for social class.

Table 38

Favourite Type of Record by a General Commitment to School by Social Class

MIDDLE-CLASS

		GENERAL COMMITMENT TO SCHOOL		
		LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
FAVOURITE RECORD	TOP 40	61 (44)	62 (56)	66 (76)
	PROGRESSIVE	14 (10)	12 (11)	12 (14)
	HEAVY	19 (14)	21 (19)	11 (13)
	MISCELLANEOUS	6 (4)	4 (4)	10 (12)
	TOTAL	(72)	(90)	(115)
	GAMMA = - 0.05	P = N/S		

WORKING-CLASS

	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
TOP 40	54 (31)	72 (41)	71 (46)
PROGRESSIVE	5 (3)	9 (5)	8 (5)
HEAVY	32 (18)	12 (7)	15 (10)
MISCELLANEOUS	9 (5)	7 (4)	6 (4)
TOTAL	(57)	(57)	(65)
GAMMA = - 0.22	P = N/S		

Despite small numbers the indication is that among middle-class adolescents there is no relationship between favoured rock music and a general commitment to school. Among working-class adolescents,

on the other hand, we find that those students with low commitment to school are less likely than highly commited students to favour 'top 40' rock (54% to 71%). Conversely, students with a low commitment are more likely than their highly commited peers to favour the music of the 'heavy metal' bands (32% to 15%).

Finally, we explore the simultaneous effect that sex and social class might have on the relationship between types of rock music nominated as a favourite and school commitment. This relationship is presented in Table 39.

Small cell frequencies render these findings very speculative. Nevertheless, the indication is that there is no relationship between types of rock music nominated as a favourite and school commitment among either middle-class boys or girls. However, among both working-class boys and girls, we find that low commitment is more likely than high commitment to be associated with 'heavy rock', and that, conversely, students with a high commitment to school are more likely than those with a high commitment to school to favour 'top 40' rock.

Table 39

Favourite Type of Record by a General Commitment to School by Sex and Social Class

MALE MIDDLE-CLASS

		GENERAL COMMITMENT TO SCHOOL		
		LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
FAVOURITE RECORD	TOP 40	50 (18)	60 (28)	48 (25)
	PROGRESSIVE	14 (5)	13 (6)	19 (10)
	HEAVY	28 (10)	26 (12)	19 (10)
	MISCELLANEOUS	8 (3)	2 (1)	14 (7)
	TOTAL	(36)	(47)	(52)
	GAMMA = 0.04	P = N/S		

FEMALE MIDDLE-CLASS

	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
TOP 40	72 (26)	65 (28)	81 (51)
PROGRESSIVE	14 (5)	12 (5)	6 (4)
HEAVY	11 (4)	16 (7)	5 (3)
MISCELLANEOUS	3 (1)	7 (0)	8 (5)
TOTAL	(36)	(40)	(63)
GAMMA = 0.15	P = N/S		

Table 39 (cont)

MALE WORKING-CLASS

		GENERAL COMMITMENT TO SCHOOL		
		LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
FAVOURITE RECORD	TOP 40	50 (16)	66 (19)	65 (17)
	PROGRESSIVE	6 (2)	10 (3)	12 (3)
	HEAVY	34 (11)	17 (5)	15 (4)
	MISCELLANEOUS	9 (3)	7 (2)	8 (2)
	TOTAL	(32)	(29)	(26)
	GAMMA = - 0.21	P = N/S		

FEMALE WORKING-CLASS

	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
TOP 40	60 (15)	79 (22)	74 (29)
PROGRESSIVE	4 (1)	7 (2)	5 (2)
HEAVY	28 (7)	7 (2)	15 (6)
MISCELLANEOUS	8 (2)	7 (2)	5 (2)
TOTAL	(25)	(28)	(39)
GAMMA = - 0.19	P = N/S		

We would contend that these findings provide some support for our 'token revolt' thesis, outlined in a previous section. It seems reasonable to have expected, had the pop media been an important source of oppositional values for middle-class male school rejectors that they would have been more likely than working-class rejectors to favour the more controversial and 'threatening' of the rock performers. However, as we have seen, this does not appear to be the case: working-class school rejectors are more likely than their middle-class peers to be involved with musical styles which embody those elements most likely to be disapproved of by teachers and parents. In fact, 'heavy rock' appears to be a cultural expression of working-class school rejectors. The pop media does not, therefore, appear to have the same set of meanings and values for middle-class school rejectors as it does for working-class rejectors, male and female. We will return to this theme a little later on.

In a similar vein, we explored the relationship between sex, social class, delinquency and types of favoured rock music. We were again trying to find out whether certain sorts of rock music prove more attractive than others to delinquent adolescents. Consequently, Table 40 depicts the relationship between type of favourite record and delinquency.

Table 40

Favourite Type of Record by Delinquency

		DELINQUENCY		
		LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
FAVOURITE RECORD	TOP 40	68 (185)	69 (96)	55 (75)
	PROGRESSIVE	11 (30)	11 (15)	9 (12)
	HEAVY	13 (35)	14 (20)	30 (41)
	MISCELLANEOUS	8 (23)	6 (8)	6 (8)
	TOTAL	(273)	(136)	(136)
	GAMMA = 0.14	P = <.05		

Table 40 indicates that adolescents who show a high delinquency score are more likely than those with a low delinquency score to favour the music of the 'heavy metal' musicians (30% to 13%). Concomitantly, students who score highly on delinquency are less likely to be the 'top 40' nominators than the students low on delinquency (55% to 68%). Neither sex nor social class appeared to substantially effect this pattern.

Discussion

We may tentatively conclude that for working-class school rejectors and delinquents, 'heavy rock' music serves as an important negative reference point, counter-posed to school culture. Whether it is the content of the music (loud, brash, and fast), or the style of the musicians, or a combination of both, which is pivotal in furnishing this symbol of opposition to school, we cannot really know. However, there is little doubt (although we have no empirical evidence to support

this contention) that the performers best representative of this genre of rock music -Alice Cooper, Led Zeppelin, Black Oak Arkansas, New York Dolls - are the rock musicians most heartily disapproved of by the adult world, and their school 'representatives', teachers. Of course, the very disapproval of these artists by custodians of school culture merely reinforces their attractiveness to anti-school students. In essence, therefore the music of the 'heavy metal' bands takes on the meaning that it does for school rejectors precisely because it is unacceptable to the upholders of the school order. Our argument is that the promotion of an anti-school stance is aided by the selective extraction of one particular form of rock music (i.e. heavy metal) from the increasingly diverse styles available to all adolescents, and is used alongside the more traditional cues of rebellion - the leather jacket and long hair, etc. - to define a negative relationship with the school order.

Furthermore, it is important to point out that for most adolescents, 'top 40' rock contains little or no rebellion style or content. As Stanley Cohen has pointed out . . . "since its creation in the fifties, a mainstream of teenage entertainment culture has been conformist in character, and conspicious for its passivity and continuity with adult values" (Cohen, 1973: 180). It is only when we look beyond the format rock music of the 'top 40' that we find forms of rock

music capable of providing signs and symbols congruent with a rejection of school values and authority.

More specifically, the particular attraction that 'heavy rock' holds for working-class school rejectors and delinquents underlies the argument (Murdock and McCron) that rock music does not have a uniform set of age-specific meanings for its consumers. The consumers of pop are, in fact, fairly discriminating and as we have seen, tastes in rock music are clearly reflective of the nature of an adolescents' relationship with school and his degree of involvement in delinquency. In short, a number of "taste cultures" (Gans 1966) exist within the high school constituency, the boundaries of which are largely defined by sex and social class, commitment to school, and a propensity for delinquent leisure activities.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

In this final chapter we will, firstly, present a brief summary of the major results of the study. We will also attempt to show how our findings, and our interpretation of them, might aid our understanding of the phenomenon of 'youth culture'. Secondly, we will briefly outline what we consider to be two significant areas in which further research should be concentrated. This section will also include a short discussion of how one of the weaknessess of this study might have implications for future research.

Summary of Findings

Firstly, our findings provide basic support for the hypothesis that a general commitment to school is inversely associated with both delinquency (our approximation of 'street culture') and 'pop media culture'. In terms of the association between commitment to school and delinquency we found that the inverse relationship is stronger for boys than for girls. We also found this inverse relationship to be stronger for unskilled and skilled working-class respondents than for middle-class respondents. Furthermore, the joint effects of sex and social class are such that the inverse relationship between school commitment and delinquency is strongest for unskilled working-class boys and weakest for middle-class girls

With regard to the inverse relationship between a general commitment to school and pop media involvement, we found, more or less independently of social class background, that this association was stronger for boys than it was for girls.

In fact, on the basis of the measures employed in this study, school rejection does not appear to be significantly associated with involvement in the pop media among girls.

Furthermore, we found only marginal support for the argument of Murdock and Phelps that delinquency and pop culture represent alternative and mutually exclusive forms of out-of-school youth contra-culture for different categories of school rejectors. In other words, we found little evidence to suggest that different anti-school peer groups exist within the Canadian secondary high school.

Our third hypothesis was that the inverse relationship between school commitment and our two central patterns of 'youth culture' would be stronger given a poor academic performance, as measured by three separate indicators. With regard to the relationship between school commitment and delinquency, the pattern was reasonably clear: as expected a low commitment to school is more strongly associated with a high level of delinquent activity among students with a poor academic performance than it is among those performing well in school.

However, the effect that school performance has on the relationship between school commitment and our three indicators of pop media

involvement was somewhat less than clear. Although 'official' school grades had a slight effect - in the expected direction - upon the inverse relationship school commitment and pop media involvement, the self-reported school performance items either had no effect upon the relationship or had an opposite effect to that which we had expected. That is to say, the inverse relationship between school commitment and pop media involvement tended to be stronger among respondents who reported doing well in school than among those who reported doing poorly. We tentatively explained this unexpected pattern in terms of the propensity for students with a low school commitment to misrepresent the quality of their school performance: among students with a low commitment to school there was a significant discrepancy between reported performance and actual performance.

Discussion

(A) Some cross-cultural comparisons

Although we found basic support for our first hypothesis - that a general commitment to school is inversely related to both involvement in delinquency and the pop media - the degree of association was not as strong as we might have expected; this is particularly true for the pop media adaption. Perhaps it might be worth speculating as to why this might be.

A crucial premise on which this study is based is that high school students are forced to choose between two fundamentally opposed roles,

namely a 'good student' role and a 'teenage' role. These two roles are associated with entry into either a pro-school peer culture or one of two anti-school peer cultures. Invariably this process of recruitment to contrasting peer cultures is assisted by such 'in-school' organisation factors as the 'streaming' system.

However, students in Edmonton high schools may not be forced to make this crucial choice between fundamentally opposed roles and cultures. In contrast to most British secondary schools, Edmonton high schools are 'liberal' in their basic ethos: school uniforms (always a contentious issue with British school children) are not required, therefore students are not forced to conform to schools's definitions of 'good taste'; relationships between teachers and students are more informal; and schools make fewer attempts to intrude into students' leisure time (in Britain, adolescents, particularly those in prestigious grammar schools, are given quite considerable amounts of homework most evenings of the week and are frequently expected to play for school sports teams at the weekend). Finally, none of the three junior high schools in our sample were streamed: given that the practice of streaming students appears to be an important factor in shaping sub-cultural identification, we would expect its absence to reduce the probability of a polarization of peer cultures.

Briefly, then, our argument is that differences between the underlying value climates of secondary schools in Britain and Canada may operate to retard the development of contrasting peer-cultures in Cana-

dian high schools. Accordingly, this may explain why our inverse relationships between school commitment and involvement in both delinquency, and particularly the pop media are not as strong as we expected them to be.

Secondly, and in a similar vein, although we have typified the pop media as a source of anti-school values and symbols, we might have overlooked the extent to which the Canadian secondary school may have formally embraced some of the values and activities associated with 'pop culture'. For example, we would contend that Edmonton high schools place greater emphasis upon the non-intellectual aspects of adolescent development than does the average British secondary school. Consequently, a greater tolerance in Canadian schools is shown towards the expressive, non-examinable areas of adolescent life, such as dating and dancing etc. Our argument, briefly, is that there is less intrinsic hostility shown towards pop culture by teachers in the Canadian high school than there is in British schools. This might have the effect of limiting the oppositional role that pop culture is capable of fulfilling for school rejectors in Canada. The liklihood of this being the case is increased if aspects of the pop media are incorporated into the formal school curriculum (for example, if pop music is used as source material in English lessons, or treated as a legitimate musical form in music lessons). To conclude, we are suggesting that some of the expressive values associated with the pop media may have been incorporated into the

formal school culture, thus minimising the attractiveness of a pop-based 'youth culture' to students with a low commitment to school. This might then have the effect of weakening the inverse relationship between school commitment and involvement in the pop media.

To account for the extensive involvement of unskilled working-class boys with a low commitment to school in pop media culture, we invoked an argument which rests upon the nature of the working-class communities found in Edmonton: given the absence of a traditional working-class community, a commercially based, nationally disseminated pop culture will take on an increased significance for working-class adolescents.

Interestingly enough, a similar argument has recently been made with regard to British working-class communities undergoing social change brought about by, for example, slum clearance and the contraction of local employment opportunities (Cohen, 1972). In accounting for the emergence of a "Glamrock cult", focused upon such pop performers as David Bowie, Slade and Gary Glitter, among working-class adolescents, Ian Taylor and Dave Wall argue that the leisure industries have merely filled a void left by the

> "accelerated collapse of the traditional institutions of working-class leisure - the arenas in which the class derived some compensation for its weekly subordination to labour and regimentation. The centrality of the local professional football club in proletarian weekend culture has been eroded, the gradual incorporation of the 'the club' into a national middle-class culture translating the supporter into a spectator and widening the distance between player and fan. The local pub has been increasingly transformed from a neighbourhood bar into an impersonal retail outlet for consumer capitalism. And, finally, the local working-men's clubs have been very extensively updated (or else outmoded) by the mass night club chains (owned by Bailey's,Fiesta, Mecca and Top Rank). The collapse of the working-class weekend, signalling the demise of <u>collective class leisure</u> has left a void in working-class culture ..." (Taylor and Wall: forthcoming)

Taylor and Wall see the demise of a traditional working-class culture, particularly in the leisure arena, as being a significant factor in accounting for the emergence of what has become an important trend in British pop music. Leaving aside their argument that the emergence of "Glamrock" is primarily attributable to the marketing techniques of the pop industry, Taylor and Walls' speculative analysis is not very different from our own. Whereas they account for the impact of "Galmrock" culture among working-class adolescents in terms of the decline of working-class culture, we account for the significance of a more general pop media culture among unskilled working-class boys in terms of a lack of traditional working-class culture.

(B) The Content of Youth Contra Culture

We have already rejected the thesis that delinquency and the pop media represent separate and distinct forms of out-of-school youth contra culture. Our argument would be that, rather than providing the basis of a distinct anti-school peer culture, elements from the pop media are enmeshed with the more traditional delinquent values and activities most frequently associated with anti-school students, and together they form the basis of the counter-set of leisure values which constitute a youth contra culture

Secondly, on the basis of the results from this and other studies, we would conclude that what we understand to be youth contra culture is made up of two basic components. First, the search for an alter-

native to the school sponsored 'good student' role results in a premature affirmation of (largely working-class) adult roles and behaviours - roles which, by definition are found outside the school setting. We would argue, therefore, that the first element of youth contra culture is derived from an "exaggerated display of selected aspects of behaviour associated with adult status" (Hargreaves: p 173). The second, and equally important component of youth contra culture lies in its emphasis upon a conspicuous involvement in leisure pursuits, an involvement which contrasts with a rejection of the values traditionally placed upon the importance of school and work.

(C) The Impact of "Youth Culture"

To conclude, we think it misleading to use the term 'youth culture' as though there is a common culture shared by all adolescents. Our findings, in fact, suggest that adolescents' response to the conflicting demands of school and youth culture is very much determined by students' perception of the relationship between high school and future life-chances. Although its attractions are potentially available to all adolescents, 'youth culture' has its greatest impact upon those young people most disenchanted with school. Secondly, even those expressive activities which tend to be associated with all adolescents - and which are therefore frequently regarded as being age-specific - do not have the same meaning or hold an equal salience for all adolescents. To this end, we can concur with the authors of the following statement:

> "while for most adolescents interest in 'pop music' may be expressive of a temporary adolescent status and of a temporary (and at most partial) rejection of adult norms, for delinquents it may become expressive of a more permanent status where ordinary avenues to success are seen as blocked and where the attendent middle-class norms are over-rejected" (Halloran, Brown and Chaney, 1970: 108-9).

However, it is very important to point out that not all forms of pop music are associated with school rejection. As we saw in Chapter 4, different categories of adolescents have different kinds of orientations towards the pop media; unless this fact is recognised, further research on the impact of the pop media upon its adolescent audience will be seriously flawed.

Directions for Further Research

Briefly, we would like to make three major recommendations for further research.

The first suggestion springs from one of the limitations of the present research. Any further research undertaken in this area must be particularly sensitive to the problems associated with the adequacy of measures and indicators. We have already suggested that in this study pop media culture was measured by a very limited range of indicators. Accordingly, the possibility must exist that other dimensions or components of the phenomenon were not adequately explored.

The concept of 'street culture' confronts us with a similar problem. We would suggest that the nature of street culture needs to be more

adequately explored before further research is undertaken employing the concept. Briefly, we need to find out what are the core activities of Canadian 'street corner' culture, and accordingly, what shape and form it takes.

Secondly, we would suggest a more thorough examination of the middle-class token revolt thesis, outlined in Chapter 4. Although we have made 'delinquency' and 'pop' the focus of attention in this study of 'youth culture', a more adequate exploration of the token revolt thesis might be made if, for example, illicit drug use or pre-marital sexual behaviour were looked at. These two aspects of adolescent deviancy might prove to be particularly attractive to the middle-class 'rebel', estranged from school but nevertheless still endorsing middle-class assumptions of a career. Pre-marital sex and the usage of (certain) drugs might permit a degree of deviant experience without necessarily jeapordizing future career prospects.

Thirdly, although we earlier dismissed the thesis that 'youth culture' is little more than the product of the major branches of the entertainment industry, the fact remains that the present economic system is dependent upon the continual and conspicuous consumption of goods and services, and that adolescents constitute a large and viable market for such industries. Therefore, as a second recommendation for further research, we suggest a thorough analysis of the relationship between the popular music industry and its adolescent audience. In terms of trends in pop music, for example, can 'taste cultures' be

created by record companies, or as Gillet argues, can a mass audience influence the content of a form of popular entertainment disseminated through the mass media? These are empirical questions, and the answers to them would place us in a better position to judge the relative influence of recording industry and adolescent audience in the forging of a 'teenage culture', and would allow us to draw conclusion regarding the extent to which 'youth culture' is purely a marketable phenomena, subject to the same kinds of market forces as any other product.

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APPENDIX ONE

Elaboration of Measures Employed in the Study

(1) The General Commitment to School Scale

Each respondent could achieve an average score that ranged between a low od 1 and a high of 5. Respondents were categorized as being low on school commitment if they scored between 1.0 and 3.0, medium on school commitment if they scored between 3.01 and 3.50, and high on school commitment if they scored between 3.51 and 5. Accordingly, 28% of our respondents were categorized as being low on school commitment, 33% as being medium on school commitment, and 40% as being high on school commitment.

(2) The Involvement in Delinquency Scale

Each respondent could attain an average score that ranged between 0 and 4. Those who scored 0 were classified as being low on involvement in delinquency, those who scored between 0.1 and .59 were categorized as being medium on involvement in delinquency, and those who scored between .60 and 4.0 were categorized as being high on involvement in delinquency. Accordingly, 52% of our sample were classified as being low on delinquency involvement, 31% as being medium on delinquency involvement, and 16% as being high on delinquency involvement. Be-

cause of the skewed frequency distribution of our delinquency scores, it was unavoidable that our three categories of delinquency involvement were of unequal size.

(3) The Involvement in Pop Media Culture Indicators

(A) Size of Record Collection

Respondents' record collections varied in size between 0 and 98 records (singles and albums). Those respondents who claimed to have 6 or less records were classified as having small collections, those who had between 7 and 20 records were classified as having medium-sized collections, and those who had 21 or more records were classified as having large collections. Thirty four per cent of our respondents were categorized as having small collections, 34% were classified as having medium collections, and 33% as having large collections.

(B) The Number of Records Bought Within the Last Three Months

Our respondents claimed to have bought between 0 and 33 records within the last three months. Those who had not bought any records were categorized as being low on this indicator of pop media involvement, those who had bought between 1 and 3 records were categorized as

having a medium involvement, and those who had bought between 4 and 33 were classified an having a high involvement. Accordingly, 41% of our respondents were in the low category, 33% were in the medium category, and 26% were in the high category on this indicator of pop media involvement.

(C) Self-Concept as a Rock Fan

(How interested are you in rock music?)

Respondents had 4 response options for this, the third indicator of pop media involvement:

- very interested
- quite interested
- a little interested
- not interested at all

Those who reported being 'very interested' in rock music were categorized as having a 'strong' self-concept as a rock fan, and made up 25% of our sample. Those who reported being 'quite interested' in rock music were categorized as having a 'medium' self-concept as a rock fan, and comprised 47% of our sample. Finally, those who reported being 'a little interested' or 'not interested at all' in rock music were categorized as having weak self-concepts as a rock fan, and made up 28% of our sample.

The Measures of Academic Performance

For our first indicator of academic performance - self-perceived academic ability - the response options were as follows:

- among the best
- above average
- about average
- below average
- among the worst
- don't know

Respondents who claimed to be either 'among the best' or 'above average' were categorized as being 'high' on academic performance: 37% of our sample were in this category. Those students who claimed to be 'about average', 'below average' or 'among the worst' were categorized as being low on academic performance, and made up 63% of our sample.

For both self-reported grades and 'official' grades, the response options were as follows:

- mainly A's
- mainly B's
- mainly C's
- mainly D's
- mainly D's and F's

Respondents who reported or scored 'A's' and 'B's' were categorized as being 'high' on academic performance; those who scored 'C's' and be-

low were categorized as being 'low' on academic performance. On the self-reported grades measure, 60% of our sample were classified as having a 'high' academic performance, and 40% a 'low' academic performance. On the 'official' grades measure, 56% of our sample were categorized as having a high academic performance, and 44% a 'low' performance.

APPENDIX TWO

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Introduction

This is a short questionnaire concerned mainly with your feelings about school and ways in which you spend your leisure time. It is part of some research that I am doing at the University. Nobody at school or at home or anywhere else will see your answers. The information gathered from this questionnaire will be taken to the University, where it will be used by me for research purposes only. Do not write your name anywhere on the questionnaire.

Instructions

You will notice that some of the questions ask you for information about yourself (e.g. for your age, what school grade you are in etc.). Check the one blank opposite the response which is appropriate for you.

You will also notice that some questions are followed by a "yes" or a "no". Again, I want you to check the answer you think is most appropriate in your case. Check one number only for each question.

Finally, there are some questions which require you to write in your response.

This is not a test, therefore there are no 'right' or 'wrong' answers. Nor is it going to be graded in any way. Just try and be as truthful and honest as you can.

Please read each question very carefully and answer all questions.

Thank you.

(Please turn over)

Answer all questions

1. Are you male ___1
   female ___2

2. What school grade are you in?

7th ___	10th ___
8th ___	11th ___
9th ___	12th ___

3. How old are you?

Date of birth?
(Day) (Month) (Year)

10 ___	15 ___
11 ___	16 ___
12 ___	17 ___
13 ___	18 ___
14 ___	

4. Please write down the name of your favorite radio station _____

5. Write down the names of as many of the songs (or the singers of the songs) being played by your favorite radio station <u>at the moment</u>. Don't rush this question - try and write down <u>all</u> the names you can remember.

1	21
2	22
3	23
4	24
5	25
6	26
7	27
8	28
9	29
10	30
11	31
12	32
13	33
14	34
15	35
16	36
17	37
18	38
19	39
20	40

6. Write down the names of your 2 most favorite bands or singers regardless of whether their songs are being played by your favorite radio station or not.
(If you do not have a favorite band or singer, just leave the space blank).

7. Have you been to any Rock Concerts in Edmonton this year?

No ___ 1
Yes ___ 2

If Yes, please write down the names of the singers or bands you have been to see

8. About how many rock records (singles and albums) do you have in your collection?

9. How many Rock Records (singles or albums) have you bought in the last 3 months?

10. Do you have a favorite record right now?

No ____1
Yes ____2

If Yes, what is it?

11. How interested are you in Rock music?

Very interested _____ 1
Quite interested _____ 2
A little interested _____ 3
Not interested at all _____ 4

12. Do you own your own radio?

Yes ____1
No ____2

13. Do you get pocket money or an allowance from your parents?

No _____1

I only get money when I need some _____2

Yes, on a regular basis (each week or each month) _____3

About how much do you get each week?

14. During the school year do you have a part time job (include baby-sitting and other odd jobs done around your house for money):

No ____1
Yes ____2

If Yes, about how much do you earn each week?

15. What program are you currently in at school:

Vocational	1
Matriculation	2
General	3
Business	4
Technical	5
Other	6

16. Have you ever been kept back a grade in school?

No	1
Yes	2

If Yes, which grade or grades

17. What were your grades in high school last year?

Mainly A's (80% or above)	1
Mainly B's (65% - 79%)	2
Mainly C's (50% - 64%)	3
Mainly D's (40% - 49%)	4
Mainly D's and F's (40% or under)	5
Don't know	6

18. How do you compare in school ability with other students in your school?

Among the best	1
Above average	2
About average	3
Below average	4
Among the worst	5
Don't know	6

19. What job do you expect to have after you finish your education?

Briefly describe the type of work you will do in this job?

20. What is your Father's job?

Describe in your own words what your father does when he is at work.

21. Briefly describe, in your own words how you generally feel about school.

For the next set of questions tick the appropriate box.

	(1) Strongly Disagree	(2) Disagree	(3) Agree	(4) Strongly Agree	(5) Undecided
22. On the whole I quite enjoy school					
23. Most of the lessons you do at school are a complete waste of time					
24. Most of the teachers in this school are really interested in the students					
25. School is the same, day after day, week after week					
26. Most of the teachers at school really try hard to make the lessons interesting					
27. Most of the time in school they treat you like a kid					
28. I feel that the things I do at school waste my time more than the things I do outside of school					
29. The people who quit school are some day going to be very sorry they did					
30. I am not going to work hard in school since I know plenty of people who have good jobs without much education					
31. School is important to me mainly because it will help me get a good job					

	(1) Strongly Disagree	(2) Disagree	(3) Agree	(4) Strongly Agree	(5) Undecided
32. I'm pretty sure what's going to happen to me in the next 10 years and I don't think schooling has much to do with it					
33. For the sort of job I'm likely to get you don't really need much education					
34. I just take each school day as it comes and don't think about what's ahead					
35. Girls' don't need a lot of education because they will probably just get married and raise a family					
36. Planning for the future is a waste of time					
37. I'm going to quit school just as soon as I can and get a job					
38. What is going to happen to me will happen, no matter what I do					

	(1) Almost Always	(2) Often	(3) Sometimes	(4) Seldom	(5) Never
39. How often do you goof off in class to the extent that others can't work					
40. How often do you skip a day of school without a real excuse					
41. How often do you talk back to your teachers					
42. How often, even when you come to school, do you skip classes					
43. How often do you do things on purpose that you know will make the teacher angry					

In the last year how often have you done this:	(1) 5 or more times	(2) 3 or 4 times	(3) twice	(4) once	(5) never
44. Got into a serious fight with a student in school					
45. Taken something from a store without paying for it					
46. Damaged school property on purpose					
47. Drank beer or liquor without parent's permission					
48. Taken part in a fight where a bunch of your friends are against another bunch					
49. Taken something not belonging to you worth under $50.00					
50. Smoked cigarettes in school when it was against the rules					

Here are 4 descriptions of boys and girls of your own age. Read through them and at the end of the section pick the one that is most like you.

1. Paul and Carol are good students. Although they are not "bookworms" or "grinds" they get good marks. They find the lessons interesting and the teachers like them because they always pay attention in class. Both intend to go to University when they leave High School.

2. Mick and Jean don't like school at all. They feel that most of the things you do in school are a waste of time. They are always causing trouble in the class room, and often 'bad mouth the teacher'. They skip a lot of classes, and can't wait to leave High School. Neither intend to continue their education.

3. Although Bob and Marilyn don't particularly like school, they realize that good grades are important for the sort of jobs they want. Their parents want them to go to either the University or N.A.I.T. and to do this they have to put up with boring lessons. They are fairly well behaved in class, but are not "goody-goodies."

4. George and Linda don't like the pressure that is placed on them to do well in school. Although capable of getting good grades, they frequently don't do their assignments and are generally apathetic about their school work. They don't like High School and don't intend to further their education when they leave High School. They don't feel they have much in common with either the trouble makers or those who are still trying to make it in school.

Please circle the number of the description that is most like you:

51. 1. Paul and Carol
    2. Mick and Jean
    3. Bob and Marilyn
    4. George and Linda
    5. None of these

Finally, here are two more descriptions of boys and girls. Read through them, and again select the description most like you.

1. Jim and Maggie are keen Rock Fans. They spend a lot of their time listening to 'Ched' or playing their own records. They know most of the songs on the 'Ched Chart' and spend a lot of their money on records or in going to Rock Concerts.

2. Steve and Carol don't like to associate themselves with school clubs and activities. They much prefer to spend their leisure time with their friends just hanging around; quite often doing nothing in particular. Their out-of-school activities are far more important to them than what goes on in school. They sometimes do things that are illegal (like shoplifting or damaging someone else's property on purpose) when they are hanging around with their friends.

   Please circle the number opposite the description that is most like you:

   1. Jim and Maggie
   2. Steve and Carol
   3. Neither of them